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Pro-Slavery.

THE BORDER RUFFIANS SUSTAINED.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24, 1856.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

CIRCUMSTANCES have occurred to disturb the course of governmental organization in the Territory of Kansas, and produce there a condition of things which renders it incumbent on me to call your attention to the subject, and urgently recommend the adoption by you of such measures of legislation as the grave exigencies of the case appear to require.

A brief exposition of the circumstances referred to, and of their causes, will be necessary to the full understanding of the recommendations which it is proposed to submit.

The act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas was a manifestation of the legislative opinion of Congress on two great points of constitutional construction: One, that the designation of the boundaries of a new Territory, and provision for its political organization and administration as a Territory, are measures which of right fall within the powers of the General Government; and the other, that the inhabitants of any such Territory, considered as an inchoate State, are entitled, in the exercise of self-government, to determine for themselves what shall be their own domestic institutions, subject only to the Constitution and the laws duly enacted by Congress under it, and to the power of the existing States to decide, according to the provisions and principles of the Constitution, at what time the Territory shall be received as a State into the Union. Such are the great political rights which are solemnly declared and affirmed by that act.

Based upon this theory, the act of Congress defined for each Territory the outlines of republican government, distributing public authority among the lawfully created agents—executive, judicial and legislative—to be appointed either by the General Government or by the Territory. The legislative functions were intrusted to a Council and a House of Representatives, duly elected and empowered to enact all the local laws which they might deem essential to their prosperity, happiness and good government. Acting in the same spirit, Congress also defined the persons who were, in the first instance, to be considered as the people of each Territory; enacting that every free white male inhabitant of the same above the age of twenty-one years, being an actual resident thereof, and possessing the qualifications hereafter described, should be entitled to vote at the first election, and be eligible to any office within the Territory; but that the qualifications of voters and holding office at all subsequent elections should be such as might be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: Provided, however, that the right of suffrage and of holding office should be exercised only by citizens of the United States, and those who should have declared on oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the act: And provided, further, that no officer, soldier, seaman or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in their service, should be allowed to vote or hold office in either Territory by reason of being on service therein.

Such of the public officers of the Territories as, by the provisions of the act, were to be appointed by the General Government, including the Governors, were appointed and commissioned in due season—the law having been enacted on the 30th of May, 1854, and the commission of the Governor of the Territory of Nebraska being dated on the 2d day of August, 1854, and of the Territory of Kansas on the 29th day of June, 1854.

Among the duties imposed by the act on the Governors was that of directing and superintending the political organization of the respective Territories. The Governor of Kansas was required to cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the Territory to be taken by such persons and in such mode as he might designate and appoint; to appoint and direct the time and places of holding the first elections, and the manner of conducting them, both as to the persons to superintend such elections and the returns thereof; to declare the number of the members of the Council and House of Representatives for each county or district; to declare what persons might appear to be duly elected; and to appoint the time and place of the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly. In substance, the same duties were devolved on the Governor of Nebraska.

While, by this act, the principle of constitution for each of the Territories was one and the same, and the details of organic legislation regarding both were as nearly as could be identical, and while the Territory of Nebraska was tranquilly and successfully organized in the due course of law, and its first Legislative Assembly met on the 16th of January, 1855, the organization of Kansas was long delayed, and has been attended with serious difficulties and embarrassments, partly the consequence of local maladministration, and partly of the unjustifiable interference of the inhabitants of some of the States, foreign, by residence, interests and rights, to the Territory.

The Governor of the Territory of Kansas, commissioned, as before stated, on the 29th of June, 1854, did not reach the designated seat of his Government until the 7th of the ensuing October; and even then failed to make the first step in its legal organization—that of ordering the census or enumeration of its inhabitants—until so late a day that the election of the members of the Legislative Assembly did not take place until the 30th of March, 1855, nor its meeting until the 2d of July, 1855; so that, for a year after the Territory was constituted by the act of Congress, and the officers to be appointed by the Federal Executive had been commissioned, it was without a complete Government, without any legislative authority, without local law, and, of course, without the ordinary guaranties of peace and public order.

In other respects the Governor, instead of exercising constant vigilance and putting forth all his energies to prevent or counteract the tendencies to illegality, which are prone to exist in all imperfectly-organized and newly-associated communities, allowed his attention to be diverted from official obligation by other objects, and himself set an example of the violation of law in the performance of acts which rendered it my duty, in the sequel, to remove him from the office of chief executive magistrate of the Territory.

Before the requisite preparation was accomplished for the election of a Territorial Legislature, an election of Delegate to Congress had been held in the Territory on the 29th day of November, 1854, and the Delegate took his seat in the House of Representatives without challenge. If arrangements had been perfected by the Governor so that the election for members of the Legislative Assembly might be held in the several precincts at the same time as for Delegate to Congress, any question appertaining to the qualification of the persons voting as people of the Territory would have passed necessarily and at once under the supervision of Congress, as the judge of the validity of the return of the Delegate, and would have been determined before conflicting passions had become inflamed by time and before opportunity could have been afforded for systematic interference of the people of individual States.

This interference, in so far as concerns its primary causes and its immediate commencement, was one of the incidents of that pernicious agitation on the subject of the condition of the coloured persons held to service in some of the States which has so long disturbed the repose of our country, and excited individuals otherwise patriotic and law-abiding to toil with misdirected zeal in the attempt to propagate their social theories by the perversion and abuse of the powers of Congress.

The persons and parties whom the tenor of the act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas thwarted in the endeavour to impose, through the agency of Congress, their particular views of social organization on the people of the future new States, now perceiving that the policy of leaving the inhabitants of each State to judge for themselves in this respect was ineradicably rooted in the convictions of the people of the Union, then had recourse, in the pursuit of their general object, to the extraordinary measure of propagandist colonization of the Territory of Kansas, to prevent the free and natural action of its inhabitants in its internal organization, and thus to anticipate or to force the determination of that question in this inchoate State.

With such views associations were organized in some of the States, and their purpose was proclaimed through the press in language extremely irritating and offensive to those of whom the colonists were to become the neighbours. Those designs and acts had the necessary consequence to awaken emotions of intense indignation in States near to the Territory of Kansas, and especially in the adjoining State of Missouri, whose domestic peace was thus the most directly endangered; but they are far from justifying the illegal and reprehensible counter-movements which ensued.

Under these inauspicious circumstances the primary elections for Members of the Legislative Assembly were held in most, if not all, of the precincts, at the time and the places and by the persons designated and appointed by the Governor, according to law.

Angry accusations that illegal votes had been polled abounded on all sides, and imputations were made both of fraud and violence. But the Governor, in the exercise of the power and the discharge of the duty conferred and imposed by law on him alone, officially received and considered the return; declared a large majority of the members of the Council and the House of Representatives "duly elected"; withheld certificates from others because of alleged illegality of votes; appointed a new election to supply the place of the persons not certified; and thus at length, in all the forms of statute, and with his own official authentication, complete legality was given to the first Legislative Assembly of the Territory.

Those decisions of the returning officers and of the Governor are final, except that, by the parliamentary usage of the country applied to the organic law, it may be conceded that each House of the Assembly must have been competent to determine, in the last resort, the qualifications and the election of its members. The subject was, by its nature, one appertaining exclusively to the jurisdiction of the local authorities of the Territory. Whatever irregularities may have occurred in the elections, it seems too late now to raise that question as to which, neither now nor at any previous time, has the least possibly legal authority been possessed by the President of the United States. For all present purposes the Legislative body, thus constituted and elected, was the legitimate assembly of the Territory.

Accordingly, the Governor, by proclamation, convened the Assembly thus elected to meet at a place called Pawnee City. The two Houses met and were duly organized in the ordinary parliamentary form; each sent to and received from the Governor the official communications usual on such occasions; an elaborate Message opening the session was communicated by the Governor; and the general business of legislation was entered upon by the Legislative Assembly.

But, after a few days, the Assembly resolved to adjourn to another place in the Territory. A law was accordingly passed, against the consent of the Governor, but in due form otherwise, to remove the seat of government temporarily to the "Shawnee Manual Labour School" (or mission), and thither the Assembly proceeded. After this, receiving a bill for the establishment of a ferry at the town of Kickapoo, the Governor refused to sign it, and, by special message, assigned for reason of refusal, not anything objectionable in the bill itself, nor any pretence of the illegality or incompetency of the Assembly as such, but only the fact that the Assembly had by its act transferred the seat of government temporarily from Pawnee City to Shawnee Mission. For the same reason he continued to refuse to sign other bills, until, in the course of a few days, he, by official Message, communicated to the Assembly the fact that he had received notification of the termination of his functions as Governor, and that the duties of the office were legally devolved on the Secretary of the Territory; thus to the last recognising the body as a duly-elected and constituted Legislative Assembly.

It will be perceived that if any constitutional defect attached to the legislative acts of the Assembly, it is not pretended to consist in irregularity of election or want of qualification of the members, but only in the change of its place of session. However trivial the objection may seem to be, it requires to be considered, because upon it is founded all that superstructure of acts, plainly against law, which now threatens the peace not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union.

Such an objection to the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly was of exceptionable origin, for the reason that, by the express terms of the organic law, the seat of government of the Territory was "located temporarily at Fort Leavenworth"; and yet the Governor himself remained there less than two months, and of his own discretion transferred the seat of government to the Shawnee Mission, where it in fact was at the time the Assembly were called to meet at Pawnee City. If the Governor had any such right to change temporarily the seat of government, still more had the Legislative Assembly. The objection is of exceptional origin for the further reason that the place indicated by the Governor, without having an exclusive claim of preference in itself, was a proposed town site only, which he and others were attempting to locate unlawfully upon land within a military reservation, and for participation in which illegal act the commandant of a post, a superior officer of the army, has been dismissed by sentence of court-martial.

Nor is it easy to see why the Legislative Assembly might not with propriety pass the Territorial act transferring its sittings to the Shawnee Mission. If it could not, that must be on account of some prohibitory or incompatible provision of act of Congress. But no such provision exists. The organic act, as already quoted, says, "the seat of government is hereby located temporarily at Fort Leavenworth"; and it then provides that certain of the public buildings there "may be occupied and used under the direction of the Governor and Legislative Assembly." These expressions might possibly be construed to imply that when, in a previous section of the act, it was enacted that "the first Legislative Assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the Governor shall appoint," the word "place" means place at Fort Leavenworth, not place anywhere in the Territory. If so, the Governor would have been the first to err in this matter, not only in himself having removed the seat of government to the Shawnee Mission, but in again removing it to Pawnee City. If there was any departure from the letter of the law, therefore, it was his in both instances.

But, however this may be, it is most unreasonable to suppose that by the terms of the organic act Congress intended to do impliedly what it has not done expressly—that is, to forbid to the Legislative Assembly the power to choose any place it might see fit as the temporary seat of its deliberations. That is proved by the significant language of one of the subsequent acts of Congress on the subject, that of March 3, 1855, which, in making appropriation for public buildings of the Territory, enacts that the same shall not be expended "until the Legislature of said Territory shall "have fixed by law the permanent seat of government." Congress, in these expressions, does not profess to be granting the power to fix the permanent seat of government, but recognises the power as one already granted. But how? Undoubtedly by the comprehensive provision of the organic act itself, which declares that "the legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act." If, in view of this act, the Legislative Assembly had the large power to fix the permanent seat of government at any place in its discretion, of course, by the same enactment, it had the less and the included power to fix it temporarily.

Nevertheless, the allegation that the acts of the Legislative Assembly were illegal by reason of this removal of its place of session was brought forward to justify the first great movement in disregard of law within the Territory. One of the acts of the Legislative Assembly provided for the election of a Delegate to the present Congress, and a Delegate was elected under that law. But, subsequently to this, a portion of the people of the Territory proceeded, without authority of law, to elect another Delegate.

Following upon this movement was another and more important one of the same general character. Persons confessedly not constituting the body politic, or all the inhabitants, but merely a party of the inhabitants, and without law, have undertaken to summon a Convention for the purpose of transforming the Territory into a State, and have framed a Constitution, adopted it, and under it elected a Governor and other officers and a Representative to Congress.

In extenuation of these illegal acts, it is alleged that the States of California, Michigan, and others, were self-organized, and as such were admitted into the Union without a previous enabling act of Congress. It is true that, while in a majority of cases a previous act of Congress has been passed to authorize the Territory to present itself as a State, and that this is deemed the most regular course, yet such an act has not been held to be indispensable, and in some cases the Territory has proceeded without it, and has nevertheless been admitted into the Union as a State. It lies with Congress to authorize beforehand, or to confirm afterwards, in its discretion; but in no instance has a State been admitted upon the application of persons acting against authorities duly constituted by act of Congress. In every case it is the people of the Territory, not a party among them, who have the power to form a constitution and ask for admission as a State. No principle of public law, no practice or precedent under the Constitution of the United States, no rule of reason, right, or common sense confers any such power as that now claimed by a mere party in the Territory. In fact, what has been done is of revolutionary character. It is avowedly so in motive and in aim as respects the local law of the Territory. It will become treasonable insurrection if it reach the length of organized resistance by force to the fundamental or any other federal law and to the authority of the General Government.

In such an event the path of duty for the Executive is plain. The Constitution requiring him to take care that the laws of the United States be faithfully executed, if they be opposed in the Territory of Kansas, he may and should place at the disposal of the marshal any public force of the United States which happens to be within the jurisdiction, to be used as a portion of the *posse comitatus*; and, if that do not suffice to maintain order, then he may call forth the militia of one or more States for that object, or employ for the same object any part of the land or naval force of the United States. So also, if the obstruction be to the laws of the Territory, and it be duly presented to him as a case of insurrection, he may employ for its suppression the militia of any State or the land or naval force of the United States. And if the Territory be invaded by the citizens of other States, whether for the purpose of deciding elections or for any other, and the local authorities find themselves unable to repel or withstand it, they will be entitled to, and, upon the fact being fully ascertained, they shall most certainly receive, the aid of the General Government.

But it is not the duty of the President of the United States to volunteer interposition by force to preserve the purity of elections either in a State or Territory. To do so would be subversive of public freedom. And whether a law be wise or unwise, just or unjust, is not a question for him to judge. If it be constitutional—that is, if it be the law of the land—it is his duty to cause it to be executed, or to sustain the authorities of any State or Territory in executing it in opposition to all insurrectionary movements.

Our system affords no justification of revolutionary acts; for the constitutional means of relieving the people of unjust administration and laws, by a change of public agents and by repeal, are ample, and more prompt and effective than illegal violence. These constitutional means must be scrupulously guarded—this great prerogative of popular sovereignty sacredly respected.

It is the undoubted right of the peaceable and orderly people of the Territory of Kansas to elect their own Legislative Body, make their own laws, and regulate their own social institutions, without foreign or domestic molestation. Interference, on the one hand, to procure the abolition or prohibition of slave labour in the Territory, has produced mischievous interference, on the other, for its maintenance or introduction. One wrong begets another. Statements entirely unfounded or grossly exaggerated, concerning events within the Territory, are sedulously diffused through remote States to feed the flame of sectional animosity there; and the agitators there exert themselves indefatigably in return to encourage and stimulate strife within the Territory.

The inflammatory agitation, of which the present is but a part, has, for twenty years, produced nothing save unmitigated evil, North and South. But for it the character of the domestic institutions of the future new State would have been a matter of too little interest to the inhabitants of the contiguous States, personally or collectively, to produce among them any political emotion. Climate, soil, production, hopes of rapid advancement, and the pursuit of happiness on the part of settlers themselves, with good wishes, but with no interference, from without, would have quietly determined the question which is at this time of such disturbing character.

But we are constrained to turn our attention to the circumstances of embarrassment as they now exist. It is the duty of the people of Kansas to discountenance every act or purpose of resistance to its laws. Above all, the emergency appeals to the citizens of the States, and especially of those contiguous to the Territory, neither by intervention of non-residents in elections nor by unauthorized military force, to attempt to encroach upon or usurp the authority of the inhabitants of the Territory.

No citizen of our country should permit himself to forget that he is a part of its government, and entitled to be heard in the determination of its policy and its measures; and that, therefore, the highest considerations of personal honour and patriotism require him to maintain, by whatever of power or influence he may possess, the integrity of the laws of the Republic.

Entertaining these views, it will be my imperative duty to exert the whole power of the Federal Executive to support public order in the Territory; to vindicate its laws, whether Federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance; and so to protect its people in the establishment of their own institutions, undisturbed by encroachment from without, and in the full enjoyment of the rights of self-government assured to them by the Constitution and the organic act of Congress.

Although serious and threatening disturbances in the Territory of Kansas, announced to me by the Governor, in December last, were speedily quieted without the effusion of blood, and in a satisfactory manner, there is, I regret to say, reason to apprehend that disorders will continue to occur there, with increasing tendency to violence, until some decisive measures be taken to dispose of the question itself which constitutes the inducement or occasion of internal agitation and of external interference.

This, it seems to me, can best be accomplished by providing that, when the inhabitants of Kansas may desire it, and shall be of sufficient numbers to constitute a State, a convention of delegates, duly elected by the qualified voters, shall assemble to frame a Constitution, and thus to prepare, through regular and lawful means, for its admission into the Union as a State.

I respectfully recommend the enactment of a law to that effect.

I recommend, also, that a special appropriation be made to defray any expense which may become requisite in the execution of the laws or the maintenance of public order in the Territory of Kansas.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

THE SPIRIT OF VIRGINIA.

MORE OF WISE'S FOOLISHNESS.

To the Senate and House of Delegates of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia:

GENTLEMEN: I hesitate to decide upon complying with the request of the Governor and Legislature of Vermont, to lay before you the accompanying resolutions of that State, "on so much of the Governor's message as relates to Kansas."

These resolutions are in every sense offensive to us, and unbecoming an intercourse and correspondence which should obtain between sovereign States in the same Confederacy. They are designed to irritate public feeling upon a topic concerning which it is naturally and habitually sensitive and excited, and are calculated to impair the affection which should bind the people of the States together in national union. Extremely erroneous and false in fact and in principle, they are not worthy of discussion. The time for discussing such unwelcome missives from State to State is passed. We cannot reason with the heads of fanatics, nor touch hearts fatally bent upon treason.

From time to time, for many years, the authors of such mischief have been remonstrated with in vain, and have been induced but to repeat outrages, to renew insults, and at last to organize opposition to the Constitution and laws and to seize upon State and Federal authority for further aggression.

In the present posture of relations we can but wait in calm, dignified and patient composure, either for the worst to come to the worst or for a returning sense of patriotism, a reverence for the past, a sacred regard to law and order, a love of justice and of peace, to be reawakened and to restore a sisterhood of States its affection, its harmony, its glory and strength.

I, therefore, recommend that no action be had or taken upon these resolutions by you. It is proper, perhaps, that they should be preserved only as State archives, in proof of the wrong offered us and of our forbearance, and this, and respect for State sovereignty alone, determine me to notice them as I now do. They are but minor results of the same cause of apprehension and danger which has assumed a much more formidable phase, and now arrests the gravest attention of our country. The Federal Government is arrested in its operation, the Representative branch of Congress is disorganized, and the representative principle itself is brought into disrepute by it at this very moment; and in such a crisis as this we can hardly descend to look to its results upon a Vermont Legislature and Executive. Our attention is called to Washington city, not to Montpelier. Parties, affiliated with those of Vermont who have sent to us these resolutions, have grown so strong as to succeed in electing to Congress more than one hundred representatives to oppose a mere minority, who are now defending the Constitution, and in withholding from that minority the support of thirty representatives more, chiefly of the Southern States; and the effect is, that the House of Representatives cannot be organized, except upon terms subversive of the Constitution and Union; and the South is distracted and divided against itself. Is the design of the plurality disunion? Is the purpose of the faction division among ourselves? If so, it is time that all people and all interests in our country should be aroused to a sense of the fact that the easiest step to disunion is a withdrawal of representation, and that the most potent cause to compel a withdrawal of representation is to disorganize, distract and degrade representation. How long shall Virginia be kept waiting for organization on constitutional terms?—how long shall she be kept waiting on disorganization, to avoid being put upon terms of dishonour or being exposed to danger?—are questions for her people and her Legislature to determine. For my part, I repeat the recommendation of calm, collected dignity, and of patient and forbearing patriotism. Wait! but be not wanting to ourselves and our prosperity, I earnestly implore you. With the highest respect, your obedient servant, HENRY A. WISE.

Richmond, Va., January 15, 1856.

SCHEMES OF RETALIATION.

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 8, 1856.

In the House of Delegates, yesterday, Mr. Rutherford, the representative from Goochland County, presented the proceedings of a meeting held by the citizens of that County, for the purpose of appointing Delegates to the Southern Commercial Convention to assemble in this city on the 30th instant. The following resolutions were embraced in these proceedings, and, on being read, were referred by the House to the Joint Committee having under consideration the subject affixing some appropriate punishment for the abduction of slaves, and the devising of retaliatory measures against Northern Abolitionists:

"Resolved, also, as the opinion of this meeting, that the lawless outrages perpetrated by the Northern Abolitionists on the rights of Southern slaveholders merit, and should receive, the severest penalties of the laws; and, therefore,

"Resolved, That the punishment for stealing a slave should be death; that all accessories, before or after the fact, should be confined in the penitentiary for life; that all vessels in which slaves may be found concealed should be, with their cargoes, confiscated; and, in order more effectually to detect kidnappers in this nefarious business, in all cases where a man is suspected, the testimony of the slave should be admissible evidence against him on his trial—that where an effort has been made to induce a slave to abscond from his master, that effort, though it fail, should be felony and confinement in the penitentiary; that our pilots now employed in their vocation, on Chesapeake bay and its waters, be authorized to board any suspected vessels; and, in order to secure them from resistance, that the said pilots and their crews be effectually armed, at the cost of the State. In the event of the capture of a vessel in this felonious business, and her confiscation and sale, the proceeds of the said sale shall go to the captors, to be equally divided among them."

These resolutions reflect the prevailing sentiments throughout this Commonwealth upon the course of Northern Abolitionists; but I doubt, nevertheless, the Legislature will go to the full length suggested in these resolutions. Measures of extreme harshness will be adopted, and probably some effective retaliatory scheme fixed upon; but whether the abduction of a slave will be made to involve the penalty of death is a matter of doubt. The course recommended with reference to vessels on board of which slaves may be found concealed will certainly be adopted; and in addition to the right of search recommended to be conferred on pilots, and their proper equipment for that purpose, two or more cutters or small steamers will be placed upon the waters of the Chesapeake, with full powers to act as emergencies may require. Every formidable effort on the part of Northern Abolitionists to invade Southern rights will be met by corresponding efforts of defence, even though such efforts may involve a violation of the Federal compact. The South will act upon the defensive as long as any degree of safety to her interests will be guaranteed thereby; but beyond that, no consideration—not even the preservation of the Union—will influence forbearance.

Ex-Governor Floyd offered the following resolution in the House of Delegates, yesterday:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Courts of Justice inquire into the expediency of appropriating like sums of money to the use of free persons of colour, who shall emigrate to any of the non-slaveholding States and settle permanently therein, that are now appropriated for the removal of such persons to Liberia."

The object of this, no doubt, is to obviate the improper influences which the free negroes generally exercise upon slaves. The transfer of this class of our population will, in a social point of view, be an advantage to the State, for almost one-half of the robberies committed in the Commonwealth are perpetrated by this class. The Northrons will ascertain that, much as they love the woolly heads, they will be by no means a profitable accession to their population. They are indolent and mischievous, and will necessarily become more so under a more liberal code of laws and an exemption from the salutary restraints which are imposed upon that class in the South.—*Cor. Bennett's Herald.*

THE "OLD DOMINION" RAMPANT.

In the proceedings of the Virginia House of Delegates of Monday appears the following bit of intelligence:

"Mr. Hiett, from the Select Committee appointed some days since, presented a bill 'to protect James Parsons, Jr., of Hampshire, and other citizens of the Commonwealth, in the prosecution and maintenance of their constitutional rights.' The said Parsons is now under recognizance to appear before the County Court of Blair County, Pa., to answer to the charge of kidnapping, under the laws of said State, he having pursued to said County and endeavoured to reclaim a fugitive slave, in pursuance of the provisions of the act of Congress known as the 'Fugitive Slave law.'

"The bill reported by Mr. Hiett *prohibits the said Parsons, under a penalty of* $6,000, *from appearing and pleading to the charge aforesaid*, and provides that the Commonwealth of Virginia shall assume, on his behalf, all costs, fines, forfeitures, &c., incurred by his non-appearance—the amount to be paid by the Governor, out of the contingent fund. The bill further provides that if the said Parsons shall hereafter be arrested and imprisoned upon the charge aforesaid, the Governor of Virginia is directed to demand his immediate surrender, and in default thereof shall cause the writ of *habeas corpus* to be applied for, &c. If his release be not then effected, the Governor is directed, ten days after the proclamation thereof, to seize and imprison all citizens and to seize and hold all property of the State of Pennsylvania and of citizens thereof until the release and surrender of said Parsons. For the enforcement of the proceedings contemplated by this proposed law, the Governor is authorized to call upon and command the services of all civil and military officers of the State, and all private citizens whatsoever, etc. It is further provided that the provisions of this bill shall be extended to any other citizen of Virginia, who may hereafter be placed in the situation of the said Parsons, &c. &c."

MARRIAGES OF SLAVES.

AN ITEM FOR ABOLITIONISTS.

From The Charleston (S. C.) Courier, January 24.

A STANDING topic of argument against slavery, with the Abolitionists—those, at least, who pretend at all to argument—is the assertion that it virtually ignores or disregards the marital tie. Admitting the utmost possible force in the argument, it could be met by counter statements against any form or mode of labour; for the separation of husband and wife is a common incident to the hirling white and black, no less than to the slave. We could appeal also to the experience of all Southern observers, in proof that our slaveholders and planters generally were anxiously disposed to respect and protect the marital relations of slaves, and that more difficulty is found in educating and training the slaves themselves to regard it than in protecting it when established on a good basis. We introduce the matter, however, only to mention a fact lately brought to our notice, which speaks more than any assertions could as to the relative attachments of the negroes.

The case to which we refer is, briefly, a voluntary and mutual dissolution and rupture of a marriage of fifty years' happy and agreeable duration between slaves; and this was by the consent of both parties, each preferring to sever this relation rather than to leave the master's family, although the option was left to each and either—as is most generally the case. The circumstances were these: The wife was an old nurse and a "mama" of a family migrating to Florida, and had for years lived in a condition of indulgence and ease, better than could have been possible had she been free actually, as she was virtually. On the closing of an estate by sale for division, under our laws, she was necessarily offered for sale, and was purchased by the son of the mistress, to whom she had been nurse and favourite maid. This gentleman, who had often in his boyish days received at her hands the rod, which the wise king recommends as a sovereign specific for the foolishness of childhood, very naturally and characteristically offered her freedom, so far as it could be done, and gave her the choice of three residences for life, and at the same time promised ample and abundant comforts. To his surprise her answer was, "No, massa, I goes wid you to the new country." He told her of her husband, and again asked her to choose a nominal master and protector in the neighbourhood, and one of these places offered to her was the plantation on which her husband lived.

She persisted that her first choice was to follow her master, when he immediately resolved to purchase her husband, whose owner was equally anxious to protect and spare the maritial tie of a veteran servant. The bargain was soon settled between the masters, for both slaves were too old to have been worth any consideration under any other system but the permanent tie of slavery; but an unexpected difficulty occurred. The husband stoutly refused to leave his master's family, and protested that deeply and long as he had loved his wife, he could not leave his home to follow her.

State the naked proposition that a husband and wife of such age and qualities had been separated, and Abolitionism would at once find matter for tear-moving homilies. Yet here is one plain case, of very late occurrence, in which such a separation occurred against the desires and intention of two slaveholders, and by the alternative choice of two slaves.

Can any of our Northern moralists tell us how many white marriages have been cruelly and miserably severed by California migration?

Selections.

From The Liberty Bell for 1856.

A PSALM OF LIFE.

(BY A DOCTOR OF DIVINITY.)

TELL me not, in mournful numbers,
Slavery 's bad as people deem,
For I've learned it (in my slumbers),
That things are not what they seem.

All the Southern coast I've run by,
And believe, since I came back,
"Do to man as you 'd be done by,"
Was not spoken of the black.

To eat, and sleep, and laugh at sorrow,
Is the negro's end and way;
And so to live, that each to-morrow
Find him where he was to-day.

Cotton 's great and conscience fleeting,
Why this pity for the slave?
Sold, and starved, with moderate beating,
He 's better fitted for the grave.

Trust not in "Uncle Tom," though pleasant,
Believe not naughty Mrs. Stowe,
For I've been South, and am, at present,
Inclined to think she does not know.

The master's sorrows should remind us
How we should feel some summer day,
Should we, departing, leave behind us
Our favourite coachman run away;

A coachman, whom, perhaps another
Preaching in a solemn strain,
Some grave D.D., or Reverend brother,
Catching, might send back again.

Slavery's triumphs still pursuing,
Triumphs which exalt our State;
While the South is up and doing,
Let the North submit and wait.

HOW MANY METHODISTS ARE SLAVEHOLDERS?

DR. DURBIN, in an article in the *Christian Advocate*, says:

"A few moths ago, I asked one of the oldest and most respectable members of the church in Baltimore whether many of our people held slaves there? And, to my surprise, he replied, he did not know of one. But he added, he supposed there were such, but they were very few. In Western Virginia Conference, I asked the brethren who had the best opportunity of knowing, what portion of our people in their Conference were slaveholders, and they replied, not five, if indeed two, in a hundred. In Kentucky, the case is equally favourable to freedom. I inquired of a brother occupying the best place for observation, whether there were many slaveholders in our church, in the Missouri Conference, and he replied, from inquiry I suppose there may be thirty, certainly not fifty."

If the above testimony is reliable, as, from the competency of the parties to testify who gave Dr. D. the information, it is likely to be, then there are probably not more than from *three to four thousand slaveholders* in the Methodist Episcopal Church, out of a membership of nearly 800,000. Yet, out of deference to this handful of men who choose to hold property in their fellow creatures, the church is threatened with disruption if she dares to so modify her discipline as to make it conform to her present views of Gospel morality! In other words, the church is required to suit her legislation to the demands of a numerically insignificant and interested *minority*. She will do no such thing.—*Zion's Herald, Jan.* 16.

From The Wesleyan.

To the numerous inquiries we have received on the point noted above, the answer has been invariable: We do not know and will not guess. The above is the first intimation from a Methodist Episcopal Church paper we have seen indicating the number. It is commended to our readers as a singular comment on the declaration so often recklessly persisted in by Methodist preachers in the rural districts, that there are no slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church!

Of Dr. Durbin's remark about the Missouri Conference, we have this comment and contradiction to make. During the discussion at the General Conference of 1852 on the proposition to make Arkansas a Conference, Houts, of Mississippi, spake of their progress since 1845 as an example in point. He admitted that they had slaveholders in their Societies, and were admitting them continually, "who are such by force of circumstances."

To avoid mistaking the language employed, the official reporter called Mr. Houts to the table. The following dialogue then ensued between the parties named:

Reporter—"Did you say that you receive slaveholders into the church in Missouri?"

Houts—"We do admit slaveholders—that's a fact."

Reporter—"Then you do have among you a state of things just as the Garrisonians have been charging on the Church?"

Houts—"Yes, we do admit them, that's true."

Reporter—"Well, you must look out then, Mr. Matlack here will be for exposing your doings."

Houts—"I don't care, if he gives a faithful exposition of the case."

Matlack—"I will only state the facts you admit. It will be fair to state that you have slaveholders, and are willing to receive slaveholders into your societies, I suppose?"

Houts—"That is a fair statement of the facts."

Matlack—"Myself, and other Wesleyan ministers have the lie charged upon us, and we are called slanderers for saying that there are slaveholders in the church. And your ministers, North, East and West, deny the fact, and boldly and openly declare that there are no slaveholders in the church, and that it had no connection with slavery."

Houts—"That is wrong; for we do admit them. It can't be denied."

Matlack—"What is the membership of the Missouri Conference?"

Houts—"About eight thousand now."

Matlack—"Is there one slaveholder in eight?"

Houts—"No, there are not so many as that. There is only about one in twenty. In some sections there is not more than one in fifty who are slaveholders."

Matlack—"That would make hundreds in all (400)."

Houts—"We admit all who ask to join us. And we claim that the discipline is on our side."

"Certainly not fifty," says Dr. Durbin.

"About one in twenty," says Rev. C. J. Houts, delegate from that Conference—"We admit all who ask to join us." Here is a sum of difference. But, taking Dr. D.'s statement as a basis, Mr. Wise puts the whole number of slaveholders in the church at 4,000. That statement of Missouri slaveholders was about 40. Mr. Hunt's estimate, four years ago, was 400!! This sum, if permitted to be the basis of estimate, would give 40,000 instead of four.

In Baltimore, Dr. D. could hear of none. There might be "very few." When the editor of the *Wesleyan* was a boy in Baltimore, thirty years ago, he knew of more than a few. The immense strength of slavery in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Baltimore may be known from the stir made there, because a few words were spoken in the Boston General Conference, in 1852, intimating that there were enough slaveholders in the church now. This very modest sentiment, which left them perfectly at liberty to stay and take their comfort, was the signal for a small earthquake among the Baltimore delegates. It was the last day of the session.

J. A. Collins remarked that he wished to introduce something of very serious importance to the church and the General Conference. Two telegraphic despatches and a long memorial had come to his hands from Baltimore. If the General Conference would hear him on that subject, he would be gratified—for at least fifteen minutes. Some agreed to hear him. Others objected. He said he would stop if they objected after hearing his remarks begun. "Proceed," "Proceed," "Let us hear him," was heard.

He then said, "A few days ago, a discussion was had in this body which he very much regretted. It has waked up a feeling which has produced great commotion in some sections of our work, and is destined to produce still greater excitement.

"During the discussion referred to, Bro. Heman Bangs made a remark (about these miserable slaveholders) which called forth a reply from me. That reply meant this and no more: that wherever our system was extended, there went the true gospel and true Methodism, and that we received members into the church everywhere on the same principles and according to the Discipline. To his reply Bro. Porter made a response, which declared that the sentiment of New England and the great West was, that slaveholders were no better than horse-thieves and man-stealers, and that they had no right in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but were only there by sufferance."

J. Porter here rose to say that he had not said so. What he said was, that "in this community there were those who regarded slaveholders as no better than horse-thieves and man-stealers."

Collins resumed. "That is only the sentiment of Garrison and Co. It is not the sentiment of New England nor of Boston. But, sir, these statements have gone out as from New England and the West, and are uncontradicted here. Our people who have servants understand that they are in the church not by sufferance, but by right. We so understand it, and insist upon it, sir. Now we do hope that something may be done by this Conference to disavow any such sentiments as those referred to and uttered by those brethren. I want Brother Porter, if he can do it consistently, and I think he can, from his explanation, to disavow any such view as entertained by New England."

Here a cry was heard from many voices protesting against any further discussion. Some said one thing, and some another, and nearly all the members were on their feet. It was a confusion worse confounded.

In a word, it is false that slavery in the church is a small thing, affecting only a few, and easy to manage, as Dr. D. insists. He is merely pursuing a course not dissimilar to that he was found in at Boston, designed to stave off definite action. A report on the Slavery rule was in the hands of the revisal committee. There was also a proposition for an Extirpation Society by Prof. Kingsley that lay on the table for a day, under the rule! They would come legitimately before the Conference the next day. But the evening before, under the guise of a plea for systematizing and forwarding business, Durbin moved that Bishop Waugh be required to prepare a schedule of the important business demanding attention. The order of its action and the mode of doing it to be communicated to-morrow morning. Carried.

Of course, Bishop Waugh brought up nothing of the kind. It must come up now, however, and be used harshly by words of censure, if nothing more. Let the tens of thousands of slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church take that for granted.

DOMESTIC LIFE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 8, 1856.

MUCH as has been written on the Domestic Institution of the South, there are features of that institution which have yet to be exhibited in their true colours, of which neither North nor South seem to be fully aware. In the North we are apt to suppose that there must be something in the "cherished institution" of Southern Slavery which is either very profitable or very gratifying to Southern feelings. A sojourn, however, of a few weeks among our Southern neighbours is sufficient to convince us that whatever profit there may be attached to the traffic in slaves—to the breeding and raising of a stock of human chattels—there is very little of either profit or gratification in the relation of master or mistress and slave, so far at least as that relation exists in the domestic circle. A few facts, which have come under our own observation, will serve to illustrate their position. We will not expose the doings of strictly private life. We will go no further than life in a boarding house, where we pay handsomely for all we have, and are consequently under no obligations for "Southern hospitality," but feel at liberty to use, for the benefit of truth and humanity, the developments which have forced themselves upon our attention. We do not seek to give extraordinary occurrences, but common life as it is here.

The family at this house consists of a hostess of portly dimensions, who has certainly been a handsome

thiuk she had an Abolitionist in her own house! "Sylvie," she continued, "is an excellent servant; but she is dreadfully self-willed, and she makes me a great deal of trouble. She vows she will not submit to the Marshal. She has had one child; and when I threaten to have her flogged, she pretends she is in the same way again, and she may be, for aught I know. But that is her way of getting off being whipped, because she thinks I will not have her whipped under such circumstances. The other day she was starting off and was going to her master, but I sent the Marshal after her. It was very wet under foot, and if she had gone she would have caught cold, and that would have injured her. *I do not want to have any man's property injured while it is in my possession.* It keeps me in a constant state of excitement, night and day, to keep the servants at their work. They will worry my life out. There is big Sylvie, the cook; I gave her some whiskey yesterday, and then she got more somewhere else, and was so drunk there was nothing ready for dinner. I would do anything to get clear of them. My life is a constant turmoil. These boys, Ben and Dan, require to be told every day to bring your wood. I gave Dan a whipping yesterday about your wood, but it makes no difference. He requires the same to-day; I see he does not attend to it."

After going on in this strain for some time, our hostess finished her discourse, and we told her we thought it would be easier to fetch our own wood than to be continually telling Dan to bring it. If she would go and live in New York, she would get clear of this great trouble, as the servants there are paid for their labour and take a pride in establishing a good character as housekeepers.

"Well," she replied, "I should be glad to get clear of these negroes."

In addition to these slaves are "Georgia," a stout plantation negress from Georgia; and John, a waiter, and three boys, Dan, Ben and Christopher, seven slaves in all, who receive only board and clothes for their labour.

Our laundress is an intelligent woman; nearly white, and of prepossessing appearance. Like those engaged in the house, she toils for the support of others. She says she pays $9 a month to her owner for the use of herself, $4 a month for rent, and has to clothe and board herself into the bargain. What an institution is this to be proud of! A man of wealth, under this "noble institution," takes from a poor widow woman $9 a month out of her hard earnings at the washtub, leaving her to maintain herself with the balance. Yet, we are told, coloured people could not provide for themselves if free.

Here, then, is a specimen of domestic life in connection with an institution for the maintenance of which so much effort is made by our Southern neighbours. What is the effect on themselves? Here is a lady, brought up in a Quaker family, which is a guaranty of her originally good training, transformed, by the operation of this system, by the practice of enforcing unjust tyrannical laws, converted into a fiend-like tyrant—a misery to herself and a terror to her wretched subjects. What a system is this for a State calling itself "chivalrous" to boast of; for Legislatures to legalize, and for learned Judges to sustain; for Presidents to dignify as a "domestic institution" based on "constitutional rights," and for the Congress and Government of a great Republic to be striving to extend!

We submit that our experience here has been but little calculated to weaken our faith in the principle of Freedom, for we have looked in vain for a single counterbalance, either in the comfort and profit or convenience of masters of servants, to set off against the enormous evils of ignorant vassalage on the one side, and of cruel and licentious tyranny on the other. Both masters and servants appear to us to be alike enslaved by this system; and could they be both enlightened as to the blessings of Liberty—could the prejudices of an unfortunate education on the one hand, and the evils of a legalized and compulsory ignorance on the other, be removed—both might be led to rejoice in that freedom which extends to all equal rights, and equal responsibilities.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD NEWS.

From The Provincial (C. W.) Freeman, Jan. 19.

The following private letter will be read with interest by the majority of our readers, having been written by one so well known and to whom so much merit is due for his labours in the cause of the oppressed:

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 4, 1856.

DEAR FRIEND: Your letter, dated Hamilton, C. W., 23th ult., came to hand yesterday; since then, four others have been received from fugitives in Canada, in conditions similar to your own. "I want you to write me, and let me know how things are going on," respecting the Underground Railroad, is a prominent request amongst many others, which come to me almost daily from those who have escaped from the "prison house of bondage." These kind letters I am always pleased to receive, and read with the deepest interest; though, really, I am often at a great loss to find time to answer all that is required of me. As far as circumstances will allow, however, I make it a point to write promptly, and as satisfactorily as possible.

Dozens have passed on the Underground road during the brief interval since your exit; and, with but rare exceptions, they have been of the most valuable, able-bodied, intelligent and brave of their class. Indeed, if the narratives of some two or three, to whom I allude, could be made public, I am persuaded that their adventures would appear far more extraordinary and thrilling than any which have ever come under my notice, not excepting the noted Henry Box Brown, or the celebrated Wm. and Ellen Craft, and others.

One poor man, who left yesterday morning, in company with three others, and will barely reach Canada ere this reaches you, in order to effect his escape, was obliged to swim the Potomac River on horse back! on Christmas night, while the cold wind, storm and darkness were indescribably dismal. This daring boudman, rather than submit to his oppressors any longer, perilled his life as above stated. Where he crossed, the river was about a half a mile wide! Where could be found in history a more noble and daring struggle for freedom than is here evinced?

The wife of his bosom, and his four children, only five days before he fled, had been sold to a trader in Richmond, Va., for no other offence than simply because she had resisted the lustful designs of her master, being true to her own companion. After this poor slave mother and her children were cast into prison, for sale, the husband and some of his friends tried hard to find a purchaser in the neighbourhood; but the malicious and brutal master refused to sell her—wishing to gratify his malice to the utmost, and to punish his victims all that lay in his power, he sent them to the place above named.

In this trying hour, the severed and bleeding heart of the husband resolved to escape at all hazard, taking with him a Daguerreotype likeness of his wife, which he happened to have on hand, and a lock of hair from her head and from each of the children's, as mementoes of his unbounded (though sundered) affection for them.

After crossing the river, his wet clothing freezing to him, he rode all night, a distance of about 40 miles, in the morning leaving his faithful horse, tied to a fence, quite broke-down. Now he commences his dreary journey on foot—cold and hungry—in a strange place, where it was quite unsafe to make known his condition and wants. Thus for a day or two, without food or shelter, he travelled until his feet were literally worn out. Passing many of the interesting incidents on the road, I will say he arrived safely in this city, on New Year's night, about two hours before day break, having been a week on the way. The night he arrived was very cold; besides, the Underground train, that morning, was about three hours behind time; in waiting for it, entirely out in the cold, a member of the Vigilance Committee thought he had well-nigh got frosted. But when he came to listen to the story of the Fugitive's suffering, his mind changed.

Scarcely had he entered the house (you can guess where he was kindly received), before he took from his pocket his wife's likeness, and, while gazing upon it, made touching remarks and showed it, &c. Subsequently, in speaking of his family, he showed the locks of hair referred to, which he had carefully rolled up in paper, separately. Unrolling them, he said, "this is my wife's."; "this is from my oldest daughter, eleven years old"; "and this is from my next oldest"; "and this from the next," and "this from my infant, only eight weeks old." These emblems he proposed to preserve with the utmost care, as the last remains of his affectionate family. When he exhibited the locks of hair, I could then fully appreciate his heroism, in plunging into the Potomac, on the back of a dumb beast, in order to flee from a place and people who had made such barbarous havoc in his household.

His wife, as represented by the likeness, was of fair complexion, prepossessing and good-looking—perhaps not over 33 years of age. The husband is a dark mulatto, about 38 years of age, in stature well made, genteel, reads well and is quite intelligent.

But I must turn from this case to others, or you will think me partial.

For want of time, I must be brief. For prudential reasons, of course, I must "keep dark" in relation to some of the most interesting incidents connected with the escape of those I am describing to you. Commonly the place whence passengers come, the mode of their escape, &c., I take particular pains not to state in my letters, even to those in whom I have the fullest confidence, lest it might get to the enemies' ears and thus injure the good cause. But, on this occasion, I think I may, with propriety, swerve from my rule a little. The subject whom I will now tell you about is a young man of about 25 years of age, in appearance stout and hearty, intelligent and very resolute, who fled recently from North Carolina, where he had been owned by the Governor of that State. For ten months before he was successful in finding the Underground road, this brave-hearted young fugitive abode in the swamps—three months in a cave—surrounded with bears, wild cats, rattlesnakes and the like.

While in the swamps and cave, he was not troubled in mind about the ferocious animals and venomous reptiles—he "only feared man." How he managed to subsist, and ultimately effected his escape, I listened to with unutterable interest, though I have not time to relate it to you.

He, too, had been separated from his wife, by sale, which was the cause of his escape. He parted not with his companion willingly. At the time, however, he was promised that he should have some favours shown him; could make over-work and earn a little money, and, once or twice in the year, could have the opportunity of making visits to her. Two hundred miles was the distance between them.

Not long, however, had he been on the Governor's plantation, before his Honour gave him distinctly to understand that the idea of his going two hundred miles to see his wife was all nonsense, and entirely out of the question. "If I said so, I did not mean it," said his Honour, when the slave on a certain occasion alluded to the conditions on which he consented to leave home, &c.

The Governor and his wife (third wife) each owned large numbers of slaves, and were both equally severe towards them; would stint them shamefully for clothing and food, though they did not get flogged quite as often as some others on neighbouring plantations. Frequently the Governor would be out on the plantation from early in the morning till noon, inspecting the operations of his overseers and slaves.

I must now pass over to a third adventurer. The one to whom I allude is a young man of 26 years of age, by the name of "Jim," who fled from near Charleston, S. C. Taking all the facts and circumstances into consideration respecting the courageous career of this successful adventurer for freedom, his case is by far more thrilling and interesting than any I have yet referred to. Indeed, for the good of the cause, and the honour of him who won his liberty by perilling his life so frequently—by being shot several times; by making six unsuccessful attempts to escape from the far South; by being numberless times chased by bloodhounds; by being captured, imprisoned and sold repeatedly; by living for months in the woods, swamps and caves, subsisting mainly on parched corn and berries, &c., &c.—his narrative ought by all means to be published to the world! though I doubt very much whether many could be found who could persuade themselves to believe one-tenth part of this marvellous story.

Though this poor fugitive was utterly ignorant of letters, his natural good sense and keen perception qualified him to attract the ear and interest the heart in a most remarkable degree. His masters, finding him not available, on account of his absconding propensities, would readily offer him for sale. He was once taken to Florida for that purpose; but, generally, traders being wide awake, on inspecting him, would almost invariably pronounce him a "d—n rascal," because he would never fail to view them, sternly, as they inspected him. The obedient and submissive slave is always recognised by hanging his head and looking towards the ground, when being looked at by a slaveholder. This lesson Jim had never learned, hence he was not to be trusted. His head and chest, and his entire structure, as solid as a rock, indicated that he was physically no ordinary man; and not being under the influence of the spirit of "non-resistance," occasionally he had been found to be a very formidable customer. His father was a full-blooded Indian, brother to the noted Indian Chief, Billy Bowlegs; his mother was quite black and of unmixed blood. For five or six years, the greater part of Jim's time had been occupied in trying to escape, and in being kept in prison for sale, to punish him for running away, and so forth. His mechanical genius was excellent, so were his geographical abilities. He could make shoes or do carpenter's work very handily, though he had never had the chance to learn. As to travelling by night or day, he was always at home, and, having an uncommon memory, could give exceedingly interesting accounts of what he saw, &c. When he would enter a swamp, and would have occasion to take sleep, he would first take a philosophical view of the posture he must take, so, if come upon unexpectedly by the hounds and slave-hunters, he would know in an instant which way to steer, to defeat them. He always carried a liquid, which he had prepared, to prevent hounds from scenting him, which he said had never failed. As soon as the hounds came to the place where he had rubbed his legs and feet with said liquid, they could follow him no further, but would howl and turn immediately.

Quite a large number of the friends of the slave saw this noble-hearted fugitive, and would sit long and listen with the most undivided attention to his narrative—none doubting for a moment. I think, the entire truthfulness of his story. As remarkable as was his story, there was so much natural simplicity about his manner, and in his countenance, one could not refrain from believing him.

Others I have in my mind, of whom I would like to make mention; but I have already written much more than I had intended, and so must now close. In a few words, let me say that the Underground Railroad cause is increasing. Friends are being multiplied on every hand; and the slaveholders, seeing this state of things, are perfectly furious, from "Dan to Beersheba." In Virginia, they are as savage as wolves, and threaten with annihilation every man that may be found aiding the Underground; but, nevertheless, they cannot stop the cars. The slaves, from the youngest to the oldest, have of late years got a thirst for liberty, and they are bound to have it, come what may.

Therefore, my dear friend, let me remind you again that the fugitives in Canada can do much by their sobriety, and general improvement, to advance the cause of Anti-Slavery and break down oppression.

Wishing yourself and all the Fugitives a happy New Year, I am, Your friend, WM. STILL.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1856.

THE SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT AGAIN.....II.

We have thus far considered only the general law which pertains to all Divine communications. Let us now proceed to the notice of such communications—on the assumption which has been taken, or at least granted—as contained in the Bible. The course of thought compels us to consider, not the perfection of God only, but the qualities, including the imperfections, of men in different ages.

The first of these ages to which we are called is characterized as the patriarchal. Next to worship of the Divine Powers, the virtue which this period develops and exacts is reverence of parents, accompanied, of course, by submission to their authority. Each family seems, indeed, to form, as it were, a commonwealth of itself, in which the father is monarch, children and others subjects. As one family, through wealth or strength or craft, attains superiority over others, these latter pass into various forms of dependence; the former, perhaps, becoming a permanent aristocracy, the latter an equally permanent order of servants or subjects, while the elder of the chief or central family is patriarch, chieftain, judge, or king. To which we might add, that as in later times, so likewise in this earlier age, the office of Priest, that which connects man with God, is identified with the patriarchal and regal character. Thus to the natural relation of the father, itself a deep and holy ground of reverence and obedience, are annexed other grounds, those of solemn worship and of political loyalty, for homage and submission. This being the central virtue, character and conduct are estimated by their relation to it; filial piety is religious, noble, loyal, the excellence of the man and of the citizen; the want of it, indicated by disobedience or contempt, is irreligion, impiety, disloyalty, baseness in the man, infidelity to the supreme government.

Mark the application of this general remark. We are referred to the Patriarchs of the Old Testament in vindication of American slavery. That those Patriarchs stand as universal examples, so that aught of theirs must, of course, be deemed right, we may deny at the outset. They were but imperfect men in an imperfect age and an infantile society; and neither reason nor Scripture authorizes us to assume them as in any respect faultless models. Admit the utmost claim ever advanced for the absolute authority of the Bible, we defy any man to prove from it that because Noah or Abraham did a certain thing or maintained a certain relation, therefore that thing is right, that relation just. This, however, is not the precise point now before us. That point is the anachronism of transferring to the Patriarchal Age institutions, ideas, relations, maxims, the slow growths of centuries, such as now exist in our American Democracies. Take the case of Noah.* A friend of temperance in these days would, to say the least, be quite as much shocked at the brutal drunkenness of the father as at the unfilial conduct of the son. A believer in the great principle of universal forgiveness, and of returning only good for evil, kindness for contempt, would as readily condemn the bitterness of the curse pronounced by the recovered inebriate as the irreverence which called it forth. The Divine order has developed new methods of life, and therewith new moral conceptions and feelings. Then it was not the drunkenness, then it was not the cursing, which men had come to perceive and feel as such dark deeds: it was the violation of the highest idea which the social state had evolved; the contempt of what was most sacred and reverend to the mind of the age, the character comprising in itself the authority of the father, the sanctity of the priest, and that which we revere as the constitution of the State, the law and the power of our country.

This explains, it is thought, the peculiar order of feeling indicated in the very brief story given us of Noah in connection with Ham and Canaan. Even to this peculiarity we need not now refer, in order to exonerate the passage from its alleged support of American slavery. First of all, there is no intimation, not the slightest, that Noah pronounced the imprecation from the genuine inspiration of God. He awoke from his drunkenness; he learned what had passed, and, with the patriarchal feeling of his age thoroughly aroused, he uttered the poetic words. But, in the second place, if it were otherwise, and the Bible ascribed the language to God's inspiration, we should be still justified in separating the Divine spirit in it from the personal and selfish passion which mingles with it; the infinite and the pure of the fountain are of God; the narrowness and impurity of the vase are but human. Drop both of these thoughts, we may then say, thirdly, that whether the servitude to which Ham and Canaan are doomed were justifiable or not, there is no evidence of its identity in principle with the slavery which it is adduced to support. It was a servitude corresponding to the institutions and habits of the patriarchal age, not a slavery corresponding to the institutions and habits of the American Republic in this nineteenth century of the Christian era. Right or wrong, it was so different as to make the argument derived from it a paralogism. We may subjoin, notwithstanding, that the very language supposes the state imprecated or foretold a state of hardship, a curse. Nothing surely could make it just to enforce such a state, unless it be fit punishment, due retribution. But not as punishment, not as retribution, is American slavery imposed. If any continue to identify the African race with Ham or with Canaan, we might simply reply, "You can neither show the identity by any satisfactory evidence, nor justify the cruelty which enslaves them if you could. If out of the evil which oppresses them so grievously, the Supreme Wisdom shall yet bring good, the evil is evil still; and his condemnation who does it or upholds it is just."

If, however, any of these views seem abstruse, and our friends, the most orthodox, if we must use sectarian designations, think it too finely reasoned, we have only this to add: The very story which records the curse without censure, records the drunkenness without censure. Because such a shameless scene of intoxication is presented in the person of a patriarch, and no reproof administered, is drunkenness "a Divine institution"?

Or if, again, you declare the curse of Noah a prediction only, then the whole basis of the argument is removed. Nothing remains but the declaration beforehand of a future fact; the character of such fact to be determined on other grounds altogether.

From this passage, one might say, but for the actual use of it by men of sense and learning, so absurdly adduced in justification of American slavery, we may pass to the history of Abraham, exhibiting the patriarchal epoch at a later period. Here is given us the picture of an eastern prince, a Nomadic chieftain, associating on equal terms with the kings of nations in the regions of Palestine and in Egypt, establishing treaties with them, and going out to war with the allied forces of several tribes. That such a potentate, a type of the patriarchal government, had under him subjects and servants—nay, that of these he gained some by purchase according to the methods of his time—is neither a proof that he purchased and held them as slaves according to the American method, nor—and this is the main thing—any the least apology for slavery, if he did. Suppose he had branded and scourged and flayed them—such outrages are not charged on him—it would only have proved him cruel, not slavery right. "But his example is commended." True; to the height of the religious and moral idea of his age, he was faithful, obedient to God and Truth. To be like him is to be faithful, obedient to God and Truth up to the height of the religious and moral idea now revealed, not to copy those imperfections which belonged to his personal character or which grew from his position in a badly developed society. Call him, if you please, slaveholder; if the holding of slaves is right, it needs not his example to excuse it; if wrong, it only convicts him of another error. He did not always speak the truth; does this excuse us in lying? By deception he exposed even the chastity of his wife; are we to go and do likewise? He made a servant-maid his concubine and mother of a son; shall we follow the patriarchal custom? He collected his young men into a military band, and flew to battle; is it certain, therefore, that God approves violence and war? To carry the same principle with us to others whom we call patriarchs, shall we be false and partial, with Isaac? Shall we deceive and supplant a brother, with Jacob? Or, with this later father of the Jews, shall we recall the ancient practice of polygamy? Shall we strengthen our assurance in so doing by the splendid examples of David and Solomon, and become lords of a harem, if we can? But to this method of reasoning there is really no end.

The law of Moses, the Prophets and the New Testament are still before us for a similar investigation. For the present, so far as we have gone, admitting what is claimed for the Bible by the theory denominated orthodox, we have only to say that its successive communications came to men at successive stages of progress; which stages it found, not made; that each communication, finding certain imperfections inwrought into the institutions and ideas of society, proceeded to remove those imperfections and to elevate mankind by the introduction of corrective and ennobling principles, ideas, influences, powers; that, while it accepted all of good in the past, it continually strove to remove all of evil; that the Divine Truth in the Prophet or historian pertains not to the existing error of which he may remain unaware, but to the ideal order, the celestial law, which, amidst the surrounding shades, he perceives shining into him. In other words, the fact of progressive revelation must be applied to the Scriptures from the beginning to the end; so that if nothing false is deemed possible in them, yet something of truth may be left untaught in some, omissions of the earlier to be supplied by the later, and so on indefinitely. Society meantime changing continually, new forms and fashions supplanting old, new names given to old things, old names applied to new things, we must pierce through words to their meaning, and seek the absolute principles, the living ideas, instead of suppressing them beneath the weight of misinterpreted language and misunderstood usages of an obsolete epoch.

* Gen. ix.: 20-27.

THE LOGIC OF VIOLENCE.

It will be remembered that our Kansas Correspondent, Mr. Charles Stearns—formerly of Massachusetts, where he was widely known as an ardent and ultra Non-Resistant—stated in one of his recent communications that he had taken up arms for the defence of the Free State cause against the threatened assault of the Atchison ruffians. In order to vindicate himself for thus taking the weapons of violence, he alleged that the said Ruffians were "not human beings," and therefore were not included in that memorable injunction of Jesus to his disciples, "If a *man* smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also." He had come to regard them as "wild beasts," "demons from the bottomless pit," who might be "shot with impunity," and he even thought it his "duty to aid in killing them off." Shocking as these expressions were, we suffered them to pass at the time without dissent or criticism, and probably should have made no allusion to them now, if we had not seen the same logic applied to the Free State party in Kansas by the *Squatter Sovereign*, the organ, *par excellence*, of the "border ruffians." Let us see how the argument looks from that side. Stringfellow, the editor, fulminating his dissatisfaction with the terms upon which Gov. Shannon made peace with the Free State party, says:

"We would it were within the range of the most liberal indulgence for us to express satisfaction with the adjustment of the difficulties which called so large a number of the squatter sovereigns from their firesides to encounter the inclemency of bleak December winds. * * * * * Had the matter rested with Mr. Jones, the Sheriff the result would have been different. The criminals would have been traced to their hiding place, and safely secured against the audacity of a set of God-forsaken fanatics. This would have given satisfaction, answered the purpose of the requisition, and fulfilled the ends of justice. As it is, base, cowardly, sneaking scoundrels will go unpunished and be left free to perpetrate their infamous outrages wherever they may find an unprotected Pro-Slavery family. We have heard the opinion expressed by some that the moral effect of the policy pursued will have a happier result than a more decisive and rigorous course would have had. *Talk to us of 'moral effect' upon a set of low-flung pharisees, who make one job of saying their prayers and picking a pocket. As well preach morality to the devil as to expect a set of thieving Abolitionists to be influenced by 'moral effect.' Such ingrates are only to be controlled through fear of bodily injury or pecuniary loss, and not through the ordinary channels by which the better portion of humanity are governed.*"

We frankly confess that this style of argumentation shocks us less when employed by the ignorant and besotted ruffians of Missouri than when we hear it from the lips or read it from the pens of those who are struggling in the cause of freedom. It is in perfect keeping with the character of those who are endeavouring by armed violence to establish slavery in Kansas, but shockingly incongruous in the mouths of men who profess to love God and to regard the family of man as one brotherhood. The assumption that a man, created in the image of God and endowed with immortality, *can* fall so low as to be utterly lost to those influences which address themselves to the conscience and the heart, and that he may therefore be treated as a brute, is not only contrary to the spirit and essence of Christianity, but essentially Atheistic. The followers of Atchison and Stringfellow are, no doubt, very degraded specimens of humanity, but they *are* human notwithstanding, and we do not believe they are one whit worse than the murderers of Jesus, for whom he uttered that prayer, so eminently characteristic of his life and teachings, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do"; nor worse than those who stoned to death that faithful messenger of God, Stephen, in whose behalf he prayed, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." We are not wanting in respect for that sort of bravery which leads men to take up arms in behalf of freedom; to a certain extent our sympathies are enlisted in their behalf, and we always desire that they, and not their enemies, may triumph. But oh! how much more do we respect and venerate that higher courage, so beautifully exemplified in the lives of the early Christians, who, though beset on all sides by the minions of violence, steadily refused to fight in self-defence, taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods and offering up their lives a daily sacrifice for the truth's sake. Let men fight if they must; but, with the weapons of death in their hands, let them not presume to call themselves Christians, nor seek to torture the precepts of the Prince of Peace to find an apology for deeds of blood.

If we may assume that men are brutes, and therefore that it is no sin to shoot them as we would so many dogs or wolves, why may we not for the same reason compel them to serve as slaves? There is, in truth, but an easy step from this argument to that of the slaveholders, which asserts the rightfulness of slavery on the ground that the slaves are a degraded and inferior race. Abolitionists assert that no degree of degradation or of criminality in the slaves can justify the holding of them as property. Can such degradation or criminality any more avail as a justification for killing men like so many wild beasts? Is it any worse to make a man a slave than a corpse? Surely there can be no doubt as to the answer which Christianity gives to these questions.

Not many days since, we attended a meeting, in the Lecture Room of the Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn, held for the purpose of affording Mr. Eli Thayer an opportunity to explain and defend the principles and measures of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society. Hymns full of Christian sentiment were sung, and Henry Ward Beecher, having first offered a most touching and appropriate prayer, full of the very sweetness of the gospel, proceeded to make the opening address. Taking for his text an impressive quotation from Jesus of Nazareth, he proceeded to apply it to the subject before the meeting, and to enforce the duty resting upon the friends of freedom to preserve Kansas from the blight of slavery. His appeal was certainly eloquent and impressive, until he descended from the high table-land of Christian principle to the murky regions of violence and blood. A discourse, begun in the name of the Prince of Peace, ended in praise of Sharp's rifle, as a "*moral* weapon," transcending even the power of the Bible and of Christianity! The idea of relying upon purely moral means to prevent the inroads of slavery in Kansas was satirized by comparing it to the folly of a man who should attempt to prevent a herd of buffaloes from tramping over his fields by planting himself in front of the advancing column, with an open Bible, and reading therefrom the dehortations of Prophets and Apostles! The levity of the speaker excited a laugh in which we were too sad to participate. Such a "mingling of fiendish deeds with blessedness" was too much for us. We could not forget that Mr. Beecher preaches the doctrine of eternal punishment, and that, according to his faith, every "border ruffian" who should fall a victim to the deadly rifle whose murderous efficiency he so highly commended, must necessarily be consigned to endless perdition. The thought of a minister of Christ deliberately shooting those for whose redemption He lived and died, and sending them straightway to hell, was itself sufficiently shocking; but that he should treat the matter as a legitimate subject for mirth seemed to us the very acme of irreverent trifling. We are sure that Mr. Beecher cannot have well considered his position and the meaning of his words.

There is in the world much that is called "faith in Christ," but among the multitudes baptized in his name how small is the number of those who accept his doctrine of forgiveness and love of enemies—nay, who do not treat it as a wild delusion! To be flamingly zealous in behalf of a dry and technical system of theology, no item of which requires any special act of self-denial, is easy; but to follow the example of Christ by loving our enemies and doing good to those who despitefully use us and persecute us, it is necessary that we should be filled with his spirit and inspired by that unwavering trust in God which marked every act of his life. This is the faith in Christ that overcomes the world, suppresses every feeling of revenge, and makes us willing to die ourselves, if we must, rather than spill the blood of our fellow-men.

THE *American Messenger*, the monthly organ of the American Tract Society, which holds itself justified in refusing to utter a word against the sin and crime of American slavery, devotes a column of its February issue to the denunciation of what it calls "Infidel Spiritualism." The article is made up, in about equal parts, of pious cant, personal vituperation, and unblushing falsehood. For example, it coolly refers to the Wakeman murder at New Haven as the fruit of so-called "Spiritualism," and, by a cunning collocation of words, leaves its ignorant readers to infer that the murderers were "Spiritualists." It is not within the province of THE STANDARD to offer an opinion as to the reliability of "Spirit Manifestations," but it *is* one of the duties which every press owes to the cause of truth and sound morals to expose such pious knavery as this. The simple truth is, that the "Wakemanites" of New Haven had no connection whatever with the "Spiritualists," and that there is not the remotest similarity between the peculiar views of the latter and those held by the former. Nay, more: the views of the "Wakemanites" are, in most particulars, similar if not identical with those of the Tract Society itself. The *Messenger*, after presenting the facts connected with the murder, says: "This is enough of this sickening story. Its moral is easily written; *there is no limit to the wanderings of the human mind, no boundaries to self-assertion for the human will, if set loose from its moorings to the blessed Bible, and the throne of God.*" This is equivalent to an assertion that the New Haven "prophetess" and her followers were led into the crime of murder by their unbelief of the inspiration of the Bible. The fact, however, is, that they are strictly "evangelical" in their views of the Scriptures, and also in regard to the death and sufferings of Christ and the final state of the righteous and the wicked. To suppose that the writer in the *Messenger* did not know that such was the fact, is to charge him with being ignorant of their creed, as stated by themselves and published in the daily papers. So far from denying the inspiration of the Bible, their very delusions were founded upon passages in that book, which they interpreted as an infallible revelation of God's will. We say this, not because it proves anything as against the claims of the Bible—for it does not—but simply to illustrate the unscrupulous mendacity of the managers of the American Tract Society. There is one passage of that "blessed Bible" which they so much abuse and pervert that we beg leave to commend to their special attention, viz: "All *liars* shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone."

SECTIONAL PLASTER FOR NATIONAL BRICKS.—We have always been puzzled to know how the cohesion of the materials of a National Party was to be effected by the Hindoo artists. The centrifugal force is seemingly included between each block and brick of their laboured erection. The question of human freedom, which cannot be laid, or bribed, or choked in a Republic, springs up ceaselessly to distract and baffle arrangements to enslave men and enslave politics. How can union exist in a party combination one-half of whose members seek to engineer it for the benefit of an institution which is abhorrent to the moral sense, the social prejudices and the sense of policy of the other half or of the whole community in which they live?—*Albany Eve. Journal.*

The argument of our Albany cotemporary, if good for anything in application to a political organization composed partly of Northern and partly of Southern men, is equally cogent when applied to the National Government itself. It is, in fact, an argument for Disunion, though the *Evening Journal* does not seem to be aware of it. If the "Hindoos," or Know-Nothings, North and South, cannot find "cohesive plaster" for the "bricks" with which they propose to construct a "national party," and if union cannot "exist in a party combination one-half of whose members seek to engineer it for the benefit of an institution which is abhorrent to the moral sense of the other half," how is it possible to bind together in fraternal Union, under one government, States that are slaveholding and States that are free? Is not the attempt to do this a criminal absurdity and the source of all our political troubles? We respectfully commend to the *Journal* its own logic, which, in our judgment, is irrefutable.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at WILLIAMS HALL, in Boston, on Thursday and Friday, January 24th and 25th.

The meeting was called to order by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, at 10 1-2 o'clock.

The President stated that the Committee of Arrangements had prepared a list of Committees, &c., which, at their request, he would read to the Society, for their approval, amendment, or rejection:

Committee on Business—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, J. B. Swasey, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew T. Foss, Stephen S. Foster, Wm. Wells Brown, Abby Kelley Foster.

Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., Boston; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

Committee on Finance—Lewis Ford, Charles B. McIntire, Elbridge Sprague, Briggs Arnold, Cornelius Wellington, Sallie Holley, Darius M. Allen.

Committee to Nominate Officers for the Ensuing Year—Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Charles L. Remond, Salem; Wm. Ashby, Newburyport; Alvan Howes, Barnstable; Charles F. Hovey, Boston; John Bailey, Lynn; Alvan Ward, Ashburnham; Moses Smith, Holden; Henry W. Carter, Athol; Mehitabel Haskell, Gloucester; Ansel H. Harlow, Boston; Joseph Merrill, Danversport; Samuel Barrett, Concord.

The foregoing were unanimously accepted and chosen officers of the annual meeting.

Opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was then given.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer of the Society, presented his Annual Report. It showed a total amount of receipts into the treasury, during the year, of $9,621 57. Disbursements, $9,252 30. Balance in treasury, 1st January, $369 27. The Report was accompanied by the certificate of the Auditor, EDMUND JACKSON, that the account is correct and properly vouched.

WENDELL PHILLIPS suggested a change in the manner of acknowledging the receipt of the money refunded by the Boston and Worcester Railroad, which was adopted by the Treasurer.

Voted, unanimously, That the Treasurer's Report be accepted and printed.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., the General Agent of the Society read his Annual Statement of Operations during the year past.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the three following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That as, in apostolic times, it was necessary that judgment should "begin at the house of God"; so, the work of repentance for the sin of slavery must begin on our own soil, at our own doors, in our own breasts, and, until Massachusetts be a free State in principle and action, it is not for her to reproach or rebuke any Southern State for holding slaves, or for seeking to perpetuate her slave system.

2. Resolved, That to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, and at the same time to support it in practice, is to confess with the lips that worship is to be paid only to the living God, while bowing down to an idol; and is indicative of a very low moral condition.

3. Resolved, That if slavery be "the sum of all villanies," then its supporters and abettors are to be more boldly arraigned, and more severely condemned, than if they were giving their aid and countenance to any other wrong or outrage; and, instead of qualifying our impeachment or softening our reproof of slaveholders and their apologists, we are morally bound all the more to "cry aloud, and spare not."

STEPHEN S. FOSTER took the platform, and remarked upon the general state of the cause and of our movement in particular. He stated his belief, based on his own experience and observation, that our numbers had diminished, and we were weaker in strength than ten years ago; and assigned as a reason, that although people were in the main convinced of the truth of our principles, yet they deemed them impracticable. The people must vote; they are unwilling to adopt practically a principle that forbids their voting. We have called on the people to leave their pro-slavery churches and pro-slavery parties, but have provided no church for them to go into, no political organization for them to act with; and those whom we had heretofore converted had returned to political action again, and, in some cases, to fellowship their old religious associations again.

To meet this difficulty, Mr. Foster proposed the organization of disunion churches and a disunion political party, in which to take up the sympathies of the people, already tending in the right direction, and turn it to practical account. The people will vote, they must vote; then we must provide ways for them to vote without sacrifice of principle, and thereby make their action as effective as possible. And although he was a non-resistant, could not become a voter, yet he could direct others how to act in harmony with their own principles, and yet directly to the benefit of the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. GARRISON followed, in review of Mr. Foster's position, that our distinctive movement was making no progress. He thought that our cause never stood better than to-day; that it progressed regularly and rapidly, and he could not but be hopeful, especially in view of the fact that, for two months, the proud waves of the Slave Power had beat in vain upon the *Banks* of Massachusetts. We have at last an opportunity of beholding a temporary bar put in the way of the triumphant march of the Slave Power. This indicates progress, and gives ground for hope and encouragement. And then, as to our disunion platform, when we first broached the principle, it was almost treason to speak of it—the idea would on no account be tolerated; but now it is everywhere discussed, and that, too, with safety and consideration. Our work is, to convert and change the public sentiment, and that, too, not so much by making individual converts as by educating and bringing up the public, step by step. Our business is to influence and direct, rather than to organize churches or political parties. And with this view, he thought we were doing much, very much. Everything indicates progress and encourages hope.

S. S. FOSTER again took the floor, in a more full exposition of what he deemed the necessary work for Abolitionists now to be engaged in.

RICHARD CLAP, of Dorchester, hoped that due credit would be given to the Free Soil or Republican party, while for himself he expressed his full faith in, and adherence to, the great principle of "No Union with Slaveholders."

Various notices were given, and the Society adjourned to quarter to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—The President in the chair.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following additional resolutions:

4. Resolved, That the statements commonly made by the clergy (to excuse the slaveholding of the South, or their own inaction in regard to it, or both), that "slavery is a great Providential arrangement"—that "the hand of God is in it"—that "God, in his providence, sent the Africans to this country that they might receive the light of the Gospel," &c. &c., are not only entirely unavailing as a defence, either of themselves or others, but are really more irreverent to God than that thoughtless cursing and swearing of vulgar persons which they invariably and justly reprove.

5. Resolved, That there can be no greater delusion than the belief that *the Gospel* is preached at the South, either to slaves or slaveholders.

6. Resolved, That one lesson which we may appropriately draw from the long continuance of slavery is to mark the corruption of that Church which, North as well as South, is its chief bulwark; and to notice whether the perversions of reason, fact and Scripture, which the clergy use in its support, be not also used to mislead their readers in their professional capacity.

7. Resolved, That the prominent indications of sympathy and good fellowship which have been bestowed upon the Rev. Nehemiah Adams by the representatives of the popular religion, since the publication of his "South-Side View of Slavery"—namely, his being chosen on the Examining Committee of the American Tract Society; and to preach the annual Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and to preside, on anniversary week, at the opening of the Union prayer-meeting in Winter Street Church; and to preach the sermon at an installation in Providence, R. I.; and to dedicate, by prayer, the new rooms of the Mercantile Library Association in Boston—show the corrupt state of that popular religion, and the urgent necessity of teaching, instead of it, a pure and genuine Christianity.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE addressed the meeting in a speech of great point and eloquence. He contrasted the case of anti-slavery profession at the North with the difficulty of sustaining anti-slavery principles at the South. The lack of real abiding conscientious principle, even among Massachusetts men, who, though loud-mouthed Abolitionists here, were too often the strongest slaveholders when their business called them South, was pointed out.

He defended the Personal Liberty Bill of our last Legislature, and showed that those who denounced that as treason were themselves the real traitors.

In showing the thankless task of reformers, he illustrated his remarks by the story of some Englishmen who found an emaciated Hindoo left to die on the banks of the sacred Ganges, whom they revived and brought to life only to receive his daily curses for restoring him to life, and keeping him out of his

ner as they did the question of banking, or anything else, meaning to carry their point by vote, or, if overcome, to submit. And if they should keep Kansas out, because of a slave Constitution, the people of the Territory could try a free Constitution, and then, being voted in, they could alter it to a slave Constitution, for the Republicans acknowledge the right of a sovereign State to settle the question of freedom or slavery for itself. Their opposition to slavery is technical, and not real.

Mr. Garrison then went on to criticise the various other positions and avowals of the Republicans and their advocates; summing up with objecting to their love of the Union, which he feared would induce them to let the slave slide, to save the Union. He then discussed the disunion question in his own able and masterly manner. A running discussion ensued on Free Soil positions, &c., which continued half an hour, and was closed by S. S. Foster.

The Quartette Club sang a song, and the Society adjourned to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY.

The Society reassembled at Williams Hall, the President, Francis Jackson, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Mr. Garrison read a paragraph from a Mobile (Alabama) paper, showing the alarm with which the advance of anti-slavery at the North strikes Southern minds.

Andrew T. Foss said that he agreed with Mr. Foster and Mr. Phillips that we should at this meeting discuss practical measures, rather than fundamental principles. He did not quite agree with Mr. Foster that our principles had been accepted by the community; he felt that our principles had but little practical effect upon the community. The Church and the Government deny that slavery is a crime, and the people act accordingly. They need our true principles preached continually; they have not yet received the full benefit and influence of them. Mr. Foss very strikingly illustrated these positions.

Mr. Foss accounted for the smallness of our numbers, and the apparent want of interest in our cause, and commented on Mr. Foster's proposed remedies with a humorous sarcasm that kept the audience in a pleasant mood, while the success of the criticism seemed to carry conviction to all.

S. S. Foster took the platform in further exposition of his proposition, and in condemnation of the Free Soil party, and of the countenance and support which our platform gives to that party, in acknowledging that it is doing an anti-slavery work of any kind, and that its success is an indication of anti-slavery progress. At the request of Mr. Garrison, he gave more in detail his views of the organization of a new political party. He closed by saying, that he felt with Mr. Phillips that our work was the elevation of the public sentiment, the education of the people. There all our strength lies, and all our work.

Charles C. Burleigh said he thought that Mr. Foster misapprehended the position of the Free Soil party, and also our relation to that party. Friend Foster's positions would necessarily carry the idea that the *slaveholding power* was the greatest *anti-slavery* instrumentality in the country, which he could not believe or admit. Mr. Burleigh then went on, with his unrivalled power of reasoning, to review Mr. Foster's argument, and to exhibit his own views of the theory, philosophy and efficacy of our movement.

J. B. Swasey briefly reviewed Mr. Foster's positions, saying that he thought there was some truth in what Mr. F. had said, but he felt that it was exaggerated by him. He especially thought that Mr. F. had stated much too strongly the readiness of people to join the new party he proposes. The men to join such a party, Mr. Swasey thought, do not exist. In regard to numbers, we should be just where we now are; the new party would be made up of the old Disunionists, and no others.

Adjourned at 1 o'clock, to meet at 2 1-4.

Afternoon.—Francis Jackson in the chair.

Mr. Fowler, of Cambridge, opened the discussions of the afternoon session with a speech in which he showed that all reforms were progressive, and should never expect to lay a permanent platform or an abiding Constitution; for the very next step onward led off and away from it. The Constitution of yesterday would become too narrow for to-day. He went on to show therefrom that the church constitution and the political constitution, framed in the past, must of necessity be too pro-slavery and narrow for to-day. He adverted to his own experience. He had been silenced as a preacher, because he desired to be true to God and humanity, rather than faithful to the creed or constitution of the church; while his classmates, who declared that they would preach the creed because it would pay, were allowed to remain in good standing.

Mr. Garrison, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:

8. Resolved, That if the Legislature of Massachusetts, at its present session, shall repeal or essentially modify the Personal Liberty bill (except to make it unlawful to seize any man as a slave on our soil), at the insolent dictation of the Slave Power, or the more intolerable selfishness and cowardice of Gov. Gardner, it will be an act of such abject abasement and treachery to the cause of freedom as shall consign to lasting infamy every Senator and every Representative voting for it.

9. Resolved, nevertheless, That to put any man on trial before any Commissioner or Jury, in this Commonwealth, or anywhere on the earth, to determine the issue whether he is the property of another man, is an enormity to be scouted in every community, whether civilized or savage; that, in so far as such a trial is recognised and provided for by the Personal Liberty bill of Massachusetts, that bill (however it may conflict with the Fugitive Slave law of 1850) is deplorably defective; and, therefore, as Massachusetts can go no further under the present National compact, and in order to put a perpetual end to slave-catching on her soil, she is morally bound, by the highest considerations of justice and humanity, to secede from the Union, in which she cannot protect the fugitive slave, except by perfidy or rebellion.

10. Resolved, That we welcome this annual occasion once more unitedly to express, what individually we ever so warmly cherish, our deep and grateful sense of obligation to the friends of our cause in every city and town in the British Empire from whence their sympathy and aid have so constantly been extended to us; and among their numerous ranks, it befits this occasion especially to name our honoured friends, the Webbs, the Allens and the Haughtons, of Dublin; the Patons and the Nichols, of Glasgow; with all who so essentially aided our earlier struggle by the voice of George Thompson; the Wighams, of Edinburgh; the Armisteads and Luptons, of Leeds; the name of Estlin, with the Armstrongs, the Tribes and the Carpenters, of Bristol; the Steinthals, the Chapmans and the Michels, of the West of England; the Sturges, the Reids and the Massies, of London. And whether this aid, for which we so cordially thank them, has reached us in the form of testimony against slavery, generous friendship and hospitality towards ourselves and our representatives as the advocates of freedom, or pecuniary help in carrying on our cause, we desire most emphatically to assure them of its great efficacy in regenerating public opinion (the spring of all action in the United States), and in furnishing our own hearts with the strongest additional motive never to be found wanting to the sacred duty in which we are so nobly seconded.

11. Resolved, That, since the briefest historical retrospect of the last quarter of a century would be imperfect without an expression of feeling, in view of one great and holy life which the world has there seen so unreservedly and strenuously devoted to the welfare of mankind; and since that whole noble life, now approaching the term that gives freedom to speak the whole truth concerning it, has a peculiar claim on *our* hearts, we feel privileged by our cause to express to Harriet Martineau, while yet there is time, our deep, affectionate and reverential gratitude for the benefit of her labours, the honour of her friendship, and the sublime joy of her example.

Rev. C. E. Hodges, of Watertown, said that, in his search for truth, he had felt the utter lack of trust in truth that pervaded the whole community. He had looked among politicians in vain—there was no truth among them; to the Church—there was no faith there; and in the whole community, there were but few who had any faith or trust in truth. In the anti-slavery movement, he had found more faith in truth and righteousness than anywhere else—more real faith and hope; and here he had found that steadfastness of purpose and principle that he found nowhere else. It was, therefore, with sorrow and discouragement that he had heard the remarks made by Mr. Foster of a desponding character. This, he thought, indicated an undue impatience. We must wait patiently, and with trust and hope.

Mr. Garrison then read from the *Daily Journal* a notice of our yesterday's meeting, and commented on the readiness of that paper to report any discouraging or desponding remark, while it omitted to report those remarks of all the other speakers which were filled with the spirit of hope and joy at our clear and undeniable progress.

He then proceeded to speak of the various stages of progress through which every truth-loving mind must needs go. We may be in a false position to-day, honestly and sincerely, and be entirely praiseworthy for our sincerity and truthfulness. But our next step onward would put us in a truer and better position, and so on. Let us, therefore, give honour to those who are truthfully, honestly seeking truth and right, even though they may not be in a true and right position.

Mr. G. then went on to show at length the impropriety and evil of political organization and action on our part.

J. B. Innis, of Salem, made a few remarks in defence of the anti-slavery character of the United States Constitution.

Edmund Quincy, in behalf of the Nominating Committee, reported a list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

President—Francis Jackson, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; E. Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; Jas. N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Baily, Lynn; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clapp, Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Chas. Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lewis Ford, Abington.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.

Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.

Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, John Rogers, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quincy, Charles K. Whipple, Wm. I. Bowditch, John T. Sargent, Charles F. Hovey, Charles E. Hodges.

The Report of the Committee was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named duly elected officers for the current year.

Mr. Quincy, in making his Report, also read the following letter:

New York, Jan. 18, 1856.

Francis Jackson, *Esq., President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Boston.*

Dear Sir: Having taken up my residence in this city, it becomes my duty to resign my office as one of the "Board of Managers" of your Society. Thanking the friends for the honour so long conferred upon me, offering you and your associates my best wishes for the success of our common cause, and assuring you and them of my hearty coöperation in all just measures to bring slavery to a perpetual end, I am, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully, C. Bramhall.

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be given to Cornelius Bramhall, Esq., for his long and faithful services as an officer of this Society.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary communicate the vote of thanks to Mr. Bramhall.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

Evening.—Edmund Quincy in the chair.

The Quartette Club again sang the "Rock of Freedom."

The Society was then addressed by J. B. Swasey, S. S. Foster, William Wells Brown; and Miss Frances E. Watkins, a young coloured woman of Baltimore, free born, yet a sufferer from cruel prejudices of ignorant and narrow-minded white persons, addressed the meeting in a simple but touching manner. Her brief remarks were very warmly applauded.

Mr. Garrison reported the following resolutions:

12. Resolved, That this Society would take the opportunity of its Annual Meeting to record its tribute of sincere respect for the memory of the late John Bishop Estlin, whose death at Bristol, England, in June last, has deprived the anti-slavery cause, the world over, of the presence of a most intelligent and generous friend, whose counsels were full of wisdom, whose labours were constant and untiring, and whose heart always warmed to the great principles of freedom and humanity which this Society maintains. Grateful for his friendship, his fellowship, and invaluable aid, deeply respecting his lofty and disinterested character, and with sincere sympathy for her, who, of his family, alone survives him, and who so largely shares his spirit, we shall cherish his memory as one of the rich treasures which the cause of freedom has bestowed upon us.

13. Resolved, That in the recent demise of our venerated friend and unswerving coadjutor, William H. Ashurst, Esq., of London, the cause of emancipation in America, and the cause of liberty throughout the world, have met with a great bereavement; for his hospitable home was ever open alike to the advocates of the American slave and the noble refugees from the despotism of Europe; and with his pen and purse, he was never weary in giving his brave testimony and his efficient aid to every movement on British soil for the freedom and elevation of the suffering classes, and to every struggle in other lands to liberate the victims of an overshadowing despotism.

14. Resolved, That we again give the right hand of brotherly regard to our clear-sighted and fearless friend and fellow-worker, Parker Pillsbury, now in England; that we rejoice in his labours and in his success, in the many friendships he has made for our cause and not less for himself, and in the faithful testimonies he has borne against every kind of pro-slavery, and against the lukewarmness and apathy of many of the professed friends of the slave. Fully convinced of the radical and thorough work he has done in Great Britain in behalf of genuine anti-slavery, we heartily bid him God-speed; and whenever improved health shall warrant his return to our shores, we pledge him our heartiest welcome.

15. Resolved, That a Constitution which provides for a slave representation and a slave oligarchy in Congress—which legalizes slave-hunting and slave-catching on every inch of American soil—and which pledges the military and naval power of the country to keep four millions of chattel slaves in their chains—is to be trodden under foot and pronounced accursed, however unexceptionable or valuable may be its other provisions.

16. Resolved, That the one great issue before the country is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION—in comparison with which all other issues with the Slave Power are as dust in the balance; therefore, we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this "covenant with death," as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the slave system.

17. Resolved, That in the invitation extended, by a professedly Anti-Slavery Committee, to that brazen and shameless advocate of man-stealing, Robert Toombs, of Georgia, to come to Boston to defend the nefarious practices of the South, after his insulting boast that he would yet marshal his slaves around the base of Bunker Hill monument, and defy Massachusetts to liberate one of them; and in his reputable appearance last evening, in the Tremont Temple, boldly doing his worst against the sacred rights of man, and to defend "the sum of all villanies"; the world is presented with the climax of effrontery, on the one hand, and of gratuitous folly on the other; and it clearly indicates how low is the moral condition of the metropolis of the Commonwealth respecting the most revolting system of oppression known in the annals of time.

Wendell Phillips then addressed the meeting.

[N. B.—As a full report of this speech, and others made this evening, was taken in short-hand, and will appear elsewhere, no further sketch is here attempted.]

The resolutions before the Society were unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, offered by Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee, was also unanimously adopted:

18. Resolved, That this Society rejoices in the abolition of the separate coloured schools in the city of Boston, as the triumph of law and justice over the pride of caste and wealth; and recognises in it the marked advance of the anti-slavery sentiment of the State.

☞ The amount received by the Finance Committee at this annual meeting, with that taken at the door for entrance at evening meetings, was $380. Amount pledged and payable during the year, $867 75.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

Francis Jackson, President.

Samuel May, Jr., Joseph A. Howland, } Secretaries of Meeting.

Faithful Testimony.—*The Tribune* informs us that the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn (Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., Pastor), one of the oldest, wealthiest, and most influential churches of the Congregational denomination in this vicinity, and which has hitherto been considered as occupying middle ground on the Slavery question, has taken a step for which it deserves the thanks of the friends of freedom and a pure gospel. On Thursday evening, the 24th ult., at the annual meeting for the election of officers and other business, the question came up of arranging for the monthly collections of the Church for various benevolent objects, among which was the American Tract Society. After a somewhat protracted discussion, in which the Pastor and some of the principal laymen of the Church participated, it was decided by vote to take up *no* collection for the American Tract Society the present year. Dr. Storrs embraced the opportunity to say that he would not by word or deed indorse the management of that Institution until it changed its policy on the slavery question. He showed its inconsistency in publishing Tracts on Dancing, Horse-racing, Gambling, Drinking, Tobacco-chewing and Smoking, while it not only refused to speak out plainly on the subject of the great sin of slavery, but actually mutilated some of the best publications in the English language in order to please the South. The discussion was interesting and instructive, and the result of the vote gave satisfaction to a majority of the members present. The step taken by this Church will doubtless be followed by hundreds of others, and the time, it is to be hoped, is not far distant when the public sentiment of every Christian denomination in the Free States will be as plainly expressed as in the Church of the Pilgrims at Brooklyn.

Hon. Geo. M. Dallas has accepted the appointment of Minister to the Court of St. James, *vice* Hon. J. R. Buchanan, resigned.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, 28th Jan.

Messrs. Editors: While the Abolitionists are talking of abolishing slavery, slavery is busy abolishing freedom. And it is doing it by means of the Union. It tries first by its own energies to force itself upon Kansas, but, being repelled by a counter force, it invokes and receives the aid of the Federal Executive. Pierce at first was content with merely conniving at the lawless villanies of the Missouri borderers, but, this not being found sufficient, he now openly takes their side. He has sent a special message to Congress, such as Stringfellow himself might have dictated. The resources of the Presidential office are put at the service of the "Ruffians," and with this aid slavery is forcing itself upon the virgin soil of Kansas. It is the *Union* that is the chief party to this atrocious political rape.

Some easy soul suggests that this demonstration of the President is only a political trick to gain the nomination of the Cincinnati Convention. Well, what if it is? Does that mend the matter any? It is the fact that we are concerned with, and that is that the power of the National Government is prostituted to the spread of slavery in new territory and the exclusion therefrom of freedom. Where is the use of amusing, much less comforting, ourselves with speculations as to the motive that leads to it? Time would be better spent in putting hearts in men's bosoms and rifles in their hands to resist these Vandal hordes than in chuckling at our sagacity in seeing what is hid from the eyes of no one. Of course, it is the Presidency that Pierce is after; and it is the same end that Buchanan, and Dallas, and Douglas, and a score of others, are driving at. And there is no cost of human liberty that either of these unscrupulous aspirants would boggle at to accomplish their end. They would subgugate half the race, if it were possible and necessary to their purpose.

Slavery is now seeking to legalize itself in Pennsylvania. Judge Kane, a minion of the Federal Government and a satrap of the Black Power, has tried to construe the United States Constitution and the statute book of the Commonwealth so as to give it a status on our soil; but has not succeeded. Resort is now had to legislation to effect what could not be done by construction. A majority of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives at Harrisburg have reported a document affirming the right of the slaveholder to a transit with his chattels through the State. The Buchanan men will support the measure and the Dallas men will do the same, and each party will strive to outdo the other in their zeal for its adoption. Judge Kane will have a double interest in its passage, and his retainers and friends will be on hand to give it a lift.

The Judge, by the way, seems to be quite busy at Harrisburg. I don't mean that he is there bodily—I don't know how that may be—but his influence is at work among the members. One of the evidences of it is a bill to change the venue of the action of Passmore Williamson for damages. This was expected. Governor Pollock I should hardly think would give his official sanction to such a bill, but it is possible that the measure may be carried over his head. Such things have been done, and "the thing that has been shall be."

I am not quite satisfied with Governor Pollock, though I like him as a man, and aided to put him in office. He is upright and honest, and in ordinary times would make a capital Chief Magistrate. He supports Temperance, encourages Education, and favours Freedom; but in this latter respect he lacks efficiency. He is not equal to his Whig predecessor, though in some respects a better man. Governor Johnston understood fully the prerogatives of his office, and did not hesitate to exercise them. He did not merely sign bills, and refuse to sign bills. His views were made known and his influence was felt in the halls of the Legislature while those bills were under consideration. It is a pity that Governor Pollock was not a little more like him in this respect. He might do much good and prevent much mischief.

The Legislature has been passing complimentary resolutions to Doctor Kane, the Navigator. There is a coincidence in the time and circumstances of this movement that suggests the idea that it and the bill to change the venue of the Williamson action had a common origin. The one is for the benefit of John Kent Kane, and the other for the behoof of Elisha Kent Kane. It looks as though the former, being divested of some his glory by his skirmish with Passmore Williamson, was desirous to borrow a portion of the superfluous effulgence of the latter; as if he was trying to sail to some haven of rest and security in the "Polar Sea." Perhaps—his own bark being worse of the wear and weather—he has jumped into one of the navigator's boats and is looking for some political North-West passage. These are mere speculations, of course, but they are naturally suggested by what is going on. Doctor Kane and the "Polar Sea" is a good card for the Judge and it has been faithfully played; but it won't always be trump. The people will get tired of these ovations, and then there will be a reaction. Critical folks will be asking critical questions, about the Polar Sea and its phenomena, and skeptics will be raising doubts. Then the community, having exhausted the subject of its interest, will come back from Elisha K. Kane to John K. Kane. For, after all, though John, objectively considered, is a *mauvais sujet*, yet as a permanent topic he is better, and will afford more entertaining and instructive picking than Elisha.

You will have seen that Mr. Hildreth has been making the Judge historical. Anticipating the verdict of posterity, he has put him with Scroggs, North, and Jeffreys, in his book of the "Atrocious." What a niche in which to put a living man! Mr. Hildreth, you are a historian of merciless Justice. Passmore Williamson, you are avenged.

But I have a word or two to say about other matters. Your Correspondent "M." says that Mr. Millward is a slaveholder, in the right of his wife. This is a mistake. Mr. Millward may be a slaveholder in heart, but in actual fact he owns no slaves, either in the right of his wife or of any one else.

"M." speaks hopefully of our Member of Congress from the IId. District—Hon. Job R. Tyson. This may be all well enough in "M." as a matter of policy, and of charity—the "charity which hopeth all things"; but he had better not be too sanguine. Job has not turned Free Soiler, and he is not going to, just yet. He knows what he's about. He wants the votes of the New England men to help him stave off the Southerners when they come with their bill to repeal the duty on Pennsylvania iron; therefore he votes for Banks. But I don't think he is to be counted on clear through. If the slaveholders were to come to him and say, "Job, if you don't drop Banks, we'll give the New Yorkers the Mint," I am not sure but Job would conclude that it would be his duty to his more immediate constituents to let Mr. Banks "slide." "M." thinks Job loves Freedom. I suppose he does. Everybody loves Freedom some. But Job loves Job better than he loves freedom. He loves material prosperity better than he loves Freedom. If the money interests of the moneyed classes of the IId. District were put in the balance with the freedom of the black race, I fear Job would be willing to let the black race "kick the beam." This may be uncharitable. Perhaps it is. *Observateres hominum* are apt to become uncharitable; especially when politicians are the subject of their vigilance.

So Mr. Toombs's friend Hilliard, whilom the Rev. Mr. Hilliard, has been disposing of the Boston people at wholesale. It served them right. What business had they to send to Georgia for a slave-driver to lecture to them in defence of his bloody whip, and to cast aspersions upon the holy name of Freedom? What business had they to trust the faith of such a man, or to rely upon the execution of his promise? Did they not know that slave-dealers hold the fulfilment of their pledges subject to their sense of convenience? When Theodore promises to come to Philadelphia or to New York to deliver a lecture, he comes, snow-storm or no snow-storm. If the drifts on the road require an extra day to make the journey possible, he gives the extra day. If the rigour of the weather subject him to unstipulated suffering, he patiently submits to the suffering. Has he not promised and will he not keep his word at any cost? With the slaveholders it is not so. They have been differently bred and are different men; and the attempt to mix them up and put them on a level with gentlemen such as Parker, Hale and Wendell Phillips, really deserves the punishment which in this case it has received.

Apropos of this, we are to have Wendell Phillips in this city next Saturday evening. That is, if he don't *Hilliardize* us; and of that there is no danger. He will come if it is in the power of steam to bring him. And I shall be there to hear him, if that shall be within the range of possibilities. Nothing but the stars which "fought against Sisera" shall keep me away. I have heard him here, and I am twice as anxious as I was at first to hear him again. He does n't talk—or did n't when I heard him—of abolishing slavery at the South; his object is to preserve freedom at the North. He does n't ask for immediate emancipation; he demands immediate dissolution. "God," he said, "did n't send us into the world to abolish slavery; he sent us here to do our duty." An immortal utterance, worthy of the school in which it was learned! *"For this cause came I into the world,"* said the Great Teacher, *"that I should bear witness to the truth."*

Wendell Phillips is not a sentimentalist; he is not a mere philanthropist, in the affectional sense of that word. He is a philosopher; he is—though no politician—a political reformer; he is a moral statesman. In the new order of things which the slavery agitation is to give rise to, Wendell Phillips will occupy a different position from what he now fills. He is not, I believe, a theoretical non-resistant.

H. Observator.

Horace Greeley Assaulted.—The *Hon.* Albert Rust, member of the U. S. House of Representatives from Arkansas, taking offence at some remarks of Mr. Greeley, in a letter to *The Tribune*, upon a proposition submitted by him to the House in relation to the election of a Speaker, made a violent assault upon that gentleman on Tuesday last. A despatch in the *Herald* gives the following account of the affair:

"Hon. Horace Greeley was twice assaulted, this afternoon, by Mr. Rust, Representative from Arkansas. The first attack was made as Mr. Greeley was walking down in front of the Capitol, immediately after the House adjourned. He had got about half way down from the Capitol steps to the avenue, when Mr. Rust stepped up to him, and calling him aside, and inquiring if he was Mr. Greeley, asked, 'Are you a non-resistant?' Mr. Greeley replied, 'That depends upon circumstances.' Mr. Rust then struck him a blow on the right temple, and followed it up by others. The affair was sudden. Mr. Greeley had his hands in his great coat pockets, and could make no resistance. He said, 'Who is this man?—I don't know him.' Mr. Rust answered, 'Damn you, you'll know me after this.' Mr. Rust walked on, and Mr. Greeley came along towards his lodgings, at the National Hotel. When near the steps, Mr. Rust met him, and exclaimed, 'Do you know me now?' Mr. Greeley said, 'It is Rust, of Arkansas, I believe.' Mr. Rust then raised a cane and struck at Mr. Greeley's head. Mr. Greeley warded off the blow from his head, and received it on his left arm, which was pretty badly bruised. Several gentlemen rushed in, and the assault was stopped.

"I saw Mr. Greeley about eight o'clock, in his room. He was writing at his table, with wet cloths bound round his head and arm. No bones were broken."

The remarks which gave offence to Mr. Rust did not transcend the rules of propriety and justice. But a slaveholder cannot be expected to have any regard for the freedom of the press, or to restrain his ruffian propensities when an opponent of slavery ventures to criticise his course.

The *Maine Evangelist* is an orthodox religious journal, recently established by that portion of the Congregational denomination in Maine to which the intense hunkerism of the *Christian Mirror* has so long been an offence. The latter journal has opposed the anti-slavery movement in all its shapes, failed to support the Prohibitory law, and resisted all progress in religious affairs, with a pertinacity that no private entreaties could modify or overcome. When a new paper became inevitable, Dr. Cummings retired from the editorship, putting a younger and less odious man in his place. The new editor of the old paper, fearful of giving further offence to his anti-slavery readers and thus driving them away to the *Evangelist*, has tamed down the hunkerism of his sheet for the time being; while the *Evangelist*, apparently solicitous for patronage from the timid, half-hearted members of the denomination, or afraid to provoke hostility by a bold and decided tone, treats the slavery question as gingerly as any old fogy could desire. The result is, that the two papers are so much alike that one cannot tell them apart save by their titles. We hope the *Evangelist*, as it grows older, will acquire strength to utter its sentiments with becoming energy and boldness.

Though Dead, he yet Speaketh.—A correspondent of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, anxious to baffle the efforts of those who wish to exclude slaveholders from the M. E. Church, has dug up the letter of Professor Stuart, written in 1837 and addressed to Dr. Fisk, wherein the attempt was made to whitewash slavery with extracts from Scripture and baptize it in the name of Christ and the Apostles. Thus does the evil that men do live after them. Prof. Stuart served the Church, not by rebuking her and calling her to repentance for her sins, but by showing her how, with Christ's name upon her lips, she could most effectually serve the Devil and rivet more firmly the chains of the slaves. To be sure, he does not assert that Christianity was positively *friendly* to slavery. The slaveholders themselves did not ask him thus to stultify himself for their sake. They only wanted to be assured that slaveholding, under the peculiar circumstances in which *they* were placed, was not an offence that should exclude them from the Church; and this assurance Professor Stuart, with the full weight of his authority as a learned interpreter of the Bible, volunteered to give them.

Ministerial Fidelity.—Horace Greeley writes to *The Tribune* from Washington that the Rev. M. D. Conway, pastor of the Unitarian Church in that city, preached a straight-out anti-slavery sermon to his congregation last Sunday. Mr. G. says:

"He scouted the pretence that the slavery question is one of North and South, insisting that it is one of Conscience and Humanity, which know no geographical demarkations. He urged that the slavery issue is moral rather than political, and affirmed the right as well as duty of the North to resist the spread of the giant wrong. As Mr. Conway is a native of Virginia, and has spent nearly all his days in slaveholding communities, it will hardly be pretended that *he* does not know what slavery is. His discourse was very able, as well as fearless, and was heard with profound interest by a most intelligent congregation. Mr. C. expects to lose his pastorship because of it. I have heard him before speak incidentally in the same vein, but never before so clearly and fully."

Correction.—In noticing, some time since, the union of *The Reformer* (late of Syracuse) with *The Independent Press* at Ravenna, Ohio, we stated that, "if we were not mistaken," Mr. W. B. Orvis, the editor of the latter, was the man who held a discussion on Slavery and the Church with C. C. Burleigh, in Chester Co., Pa., in the Summer of 1854. Having learned from the *Press and Reformer* of the 25th ult. that we were mistaken on this point, we hasten to make the needed correction. We regret that, owing to the similarity of names and our imperfect knowledge of the two persons, we were led to suppose that the editor was identical with the disputant. We assure the *Press and Reformer* that we duly appreciate the characteristic courtesy and magnanimity exhibited in its correction of our mistake.

Bloody Fruits of Slvery.—The following telegraphic despatch appeared in the daily papers of Tuesday:

Cincinnati, Monday, Jan. 28, 1856.

A stampede of slaves from the border counties of Kentucky took place last night. The whereabouts of several of the fugitives having been discovered here, officers at noon to-day proceeded to make arrests. Upon approaching the house where the slaves were secreted, the latter fired—wounding two or three spectators, but not seriously. One slave woman, finding escape impossible, cut the throats of her children—killing one instantly, and severely wounding two others. Six of the fugitives were apprehended, but eight are said to have escaped.

William H. Day, formerly of Cleveland—where, for a time, he published *The Aliened American*—is now a resident of Canada. We are glad to notice that he has consented to act as a corresponding editor of *The Provincial Freeman*, for which he will write under his own proper signature. Mr. Newman, the resident editor, avows his willingness to yield his position to Mr. Day, if the latter will consent to take it.

The President's Message on Kansas Affairs will be found under its appropriate head, on the first page. It is, in effect, an endorsement of Atchison and his minions. It can hardly be possible for the President to find a "lower deep" of official degradation and villany than that into which he has now descended. We have no room for comment.

Household Words.—The February number (American Reprint—Dix & Edwards, 10 Park Place), embracing the four previous weekly issues, is on our table. We give the table of contents, as follows: Charter House Charity; Princess Ilse; Literal Claims; Much Ado about Nothing; Pope's Sir John Cutler; Miss Davies; The Old and New Squatter; the Railway Companion; Dew; The Metamorphosed Pagoda; Chip—the Community of Gault; The Crown of Ionia; Our Shakspeare; Hospitals; Daisy Hope; The Two Interpreters; The Golden Mean; A German Table d' Hôte; Disputed Identity; Chips—Millionnares and Measures; An English Wife; The Cruise of the Tomtit; Scrooby; The Roving Englishman—Down the Danube.

Littell's Living Age, No. 609, opens with an article on "Liberia and Sierra Leone," from the *London Quarterly Review*. It abounds in mistakes and perversions of fact, and is designed to glorify the Colonization scheme. We should scarcely regret its appearance on the pages of the *Living Age*, however, if we could hope that the other side of the question might be admitted there. This article out of the question, the number is an excellent one. No. 610 brings us an interesting story—"Mary Sutherland"—from *Tait's Magazine*, and a variety of briefer selections, including several poems. New York: 343 Broadway.

Summary.

A Political Joke.—The *Telegraph* states that a Western gentleman at Washington, referring to the proposition to elect Mr. Campbell speaker, writes that "the North will one day call those men to a stern account, who, like the old scribes and pharisees, *strain at a Nat and swallow a Campbell.*"

Killed by a Slave.—On the 10th inst., Capt. James H. Robinson, of Bedford County, Va., had just punished a negro, belonging to him, for neglect of duty, when the negro struck him on the head with a hoe, causing his death next morning. The murderer had not been arrested at the last accounts.

A series of articles has recently appeared in the *Examiner*, attributed to Dr. Wayland, in which that distinguished divine takes occasion to express, as his opinion, that the present method of educating young men for the ministry, in the Baptist Church, is a failure, and that no copying of the plans of the Andover Theological Seminary will meet the wants of the Baptist body. Dr. W. deals very severely with the practice of preaching from manuscript."

Beverly.—Mrs. Jones, of Salem, Ohio, failed to meet a positive engagement with the Miami Lyceum in Beverly, on Monday evening of last week; but, fortunately for the audience, the Rev. George Trask, of Fitchburg, was present, and for an hour highly entertained the members upon his favourite subject, that of the use of Tobacco. The lecture on Monday evening was given by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston.—*Salem (Mass.) Register.*

The N. Y. *Evening Post* understands that Horace Bushnell, the distinguished Connecticut clergyman, contemplates a trip to Kansas, in company with a colony forming in New Haven, for a permanent settlement in the new Territory. The Doctor will take the journey in hopes of curing a bronchial affection, from which he is a sufferer. He will probably remain in the Territory until he is cured, if he finds himself benefited by the climate.

Bishop Hamline.—It was reported recently that charges of seduction had been made against Bishop Hamline, of Cincinnati. The Western *Christian Witness* contradicts this statement, and says no such charges have been preferred. L. D. Harlan, a member of the Cincinnati Conference, made statements against the Bishop's character, but they were proved false, and he himself was dismissed from the Methodist Episcopal Church and Ministry by the nearly unanimous vote of a numerous Conference.

Law Against Lady Seducers.—There is a seduction bill before the Kentucky Legislature, to which an amendment has been presented, which, if adopted, will create some stir among the ladies. It provides that any female, guilty of attempting to seduce a young man by wearing low neck dresses, and other captivating articles of attire, shall be punished with the same penalty affixed to cases of seduction. The gay deceivers will be obliged to correct their *habits*, should this amendment be adopted.

Horrible Murder.—The *Macon (Ga.) Citizen* informs us that Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, the former seventy and the latter seventy-two years of age, were on the morning of the 14th ult., found dead in their bed, each with a large wound on the head, inflicted with the sharp edge of an axe. An attempt was also made to burn the house, the bedding on which the victims lay having been fired and the bodies much burned, but the flames were extinguished. A slave, twenty-eight years old, is supposed to be the murderer, and has been arrested and committed to jail.

Marriage of Antoinette L. Brown.—The *Rochester Democrat* of Friday publishes the marriage of the well-known advocate of Woman's Rights, the Rev. Antoinette L. Brown, to Mr. Samuel C. Blackwell, of Cincinnati. The wedding ceremony was performed by Joseph Brown, Esq., the bride's father, at his residence, in the town of Henrietta, Monroe County, on Thursday of last week. The *Democrat* supposes Mr. Blackwell to be a brother of Lucy Stone's husband. The affair was kept so still that none of Miss Brown's friends in Rochester suspected it until the deed was done.

They have, we observe, a bill pending before the Virginia Legislature "to allow Thomas Jones, a free coloured man of Culpepper County, to enslave himself." This is all very well if Thomas Jones desires it; but we think the Legislature ought, in fairness, to add another section, allowing all coloured persons now held in Culpepper County as slaves, and who may desire it, to emancipate themselves. This would be to hold the balance even, and do the fair thing. Certainly a man's desires for liberty are as much entitled to be gratified as his desire to be made a slave.—*Tribune.*

John P. Hale.—The two addresses delivered before the Chicago Literary Union, by the distinguished New Hampshire Senator, were admirably delivered and most enthusiastically received, by just such an audience as an earnest man would select. The last, given on Saturday night, was perhaps the most effective. We have heard Mr. Hale often, but have never heard him when he was so eloquent. Hardly would the audience let him stop. When he said, "in conclusion," the cry of "go on!" "go on!" was general, and throughout his lecture the applause was of that hearty character which told how much the people were delighted.—*Chicago Tribune, Jan. 24th.*

An Incident that Bears its own Comment.—Isaac, a boy servant of Gen. Quitman, arrived home a few days since. Shortly after the General reached Washington city, Isaac expressed a great desire to return home to Mississippi. Upon being pressed for his reasons for so sudden a wish, he told his master that he had been repeatedly beset by two white men from Boston, who urged him to accept their aid to run from his master. He stated that he was afraid that he would be kidnapped into freedom, as he believed the two men were capable of any atrocity. The General gave Isaac a pass, with which he safely reached home, to his infinite satisfaction.—*Natchez (Miss.) Free Trader, Jan. 8.*

A Brother of Anthony Burns on his Travels.—Henry Burns, brother of the notorious Anthony Burns, belongs to a gentleman on Red river, in Louisiana. His master recently gave him written permission to visit his relations in Virginia. On his way Henry was forced by ice to quit the Ohio river, and travel through the State of Ohio. He stated, on his arrival here, that the Abolitionists bothered him mightily in Ohio, especially when they found out that he was brother to Anthony. They offered to set him up in business, and raise him a large sum of money if he would abscond; but Henry spurned their offers. He said his master had more money bet upon his return than they can raise, and that his master "is bound to win."

Negro-phobia Rebuked.—The magnificent project for immortalizing prejudice against colour, by founding a coloured University in Ohio, originated by Dr. Elliot and the Western Methodists, some time since noticed by us, does not go with the Yankees. We learn, through the *Western Christian Advocate*, that upon a recent visit of Mr. Wright to New England, the Methodist preachers of Boston declined to do anything in behalf of the Western enterprise, giving as their reason that the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., does now admit coloured students, and urging that this is the true principle, in view of breaking down the wicked prejudice against colour which exists amongst us.—*Wesleyan.*

Rights of Married Women.—The New York Legislature has a bill before it which provides that any married woman, whose husband, from drunkenness or profligacy, or other cause, shall neglect or refuse to provide for her support or the support of her children, or any married woman who may be deserted by her husband, without fault on her part, shall have the right to transact business in her own name, collect her own earnings and those of her minor children, and educate her children, free from the interference of her husband, or any other person. She may also bind out or hire out her minor children. Also, hereafter, it shall be necessary to the validity of every indenture of apprenticeship that the mother, if living with her husband, sign the same. The bill aims at abuses that exist to an alarming extent.

Among the

Miscellaneous Department.

From The National Era.

MARY GARVIN.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

FROM the heart of Waumbek Methna, from the lake that never fails,
Falls the Saco in the green lap of Conway's intervales;
There in wild and virgin freshness, its waters foam and flow,
As when Darley Field first saw them two hundred years ago.

But, vexed in all its seaward course with bridges, dams and mills,
How changed is Saco's stream, how lost its freedom of the hills,
Since travelled Jocelyn, factor Vines, and stately Champernoon,
Heard on its banks the gray wolf's howl, the trumpet of the loon!

With smoking axle hot with speed, with steeds of fire and steam,
Wide-waked To-day leaves Yesterday behind him like a dream.
Still, from the hurrying train of Life, fly backward far and fast
The milestones of the fathers, the landmarks of the past.

But human hearts remain unchanged; the sorrow and the sin,
The loves and hopes and fears of old are to our own akin;
And, in the tales our fathers told, the songs our mothers sung,
Tradition, snowy-bearded, leans on Romance ever young.

O, sharp-lined man of traffic, on Saco's banks to-day!
O, mill-girl watching late and long the shuttle's restless play!
Let, for the once, a listening ear the working hand beguile,
And lend my old Provincial tale, as suits, a tear or smile!

The evening gun had sounded from gray Fort Mary's walls,
Through the forest, like a wild beast, roared and plunged the Saco's falls.

And westward on the sea-wind, that damp and gusty blew,
Over cedars darkening inland the smokes of Spurwink blew.

On the hearth of Farmer Garvin blazed the crackling walnut log;
Right and left sat dame and goodman, and between them lay the dog.

Head on paws, and tail slow wagging, and beside him on her mat,
Sitting drowsy in the firelight, winked and purred the mottled cat.

"Twenty years!" said Goodman Garvin, speaking sadly, under breath,
And his gray head slowly shaking, as one who speaks of death.

The Goodwife dropped her needles: "It is twenty years, to day,
Since the Indians fell on Saco, and stole our child away."

Then they sank into the silence, for each knew the other's thought,
Of a great and common sorrow, and words were needed not.

"Who knocks?" cried Goodman Garvin. The door was open thrown;
On two strangers, man and woman, cloaked and furred, the firelight shone.

One with courteous gesture lifted the bear-skin from his head:
"Lives here Elkanah Garvin?" "I am he," the Goodman said.

"Sit ye down, and dry and warm ye, for the night is chill with rain."
And the Goodwife drew the settle, and stirred the fire amain.

The maid unclasped her cloak-hood, the firelight glistened fair
In her large, moist eyes, and over soft folds of dark brown hair.

Dame Garvin looked upon her: "It is Mary's self I see!
Dear heart!" she cried, "now tell me, has my child come back to me?"

"My name indeed is Mary," said the stranger, sobbing wild;
"Will you be to me a mother? I am Mary Garvin's child!

"She sleeps by wooded Simcoe, but on her dying day
She bade my father take me to her kinsfolk far away.

"And when the priest besought her to do me no such wrong,
She said, 'May God forgive me! I have closed my heart too long.

"'When I hid me from my father, and shut out my mother's call,
I sinned against those dear ones and the Father of us all.

"'Christ's love rebukes no home-love, breaks no tie of kin apart;
Better heresy in doctrine than heresy of heart.

"'Tell me not the Church must censure: she who wept the Cross beside,
Never made her own flesh strangers, nor the claims of blood denied.

"'And if she who wronged her parents, with her child atones to them,
Earthly daughter, Heavenly Mother! thou at least wilt not condemn!'

"So, upon her death-bed lying, my blessed mother spake;
As we come to do her bidding, so receive us for her sake."

"God be praised!" said Goodwife Garvin, "He taketh and He gives;
He woundeth, but He healeth; in her child our daughter lives."

"Amen!" the old man answered, as he brushed a tear away,
And, kneeling by his hearth-stone, said, with reverence, "Let us pray."

All its Oriental symbols, and its Hebrew paraphrase,
Warm with earnest life and feeling, rose his prayer of love and praise.

But he started at beholding, as he rose from off his knee,
The stranger cross his forehead with the sign of Papistrie.

"What is this?" cried Farmer Garvin. "Is an English Christian's home
A chapel or a mass-house, that you make the sign of Rome?"

Then the young girl knelt beside him, kissed his trembling hand, and cried:

"O, forbear to chide my father; in that faith my mother died!"

"On her wooden cross at Simcoe the dews and sunshine fall,
As they fall on Spurwink's grave-yard; and the dear God watches all!"

The old man stroked the fair head that rested on his knee;
"Your words, dear child," he whispered, "are God's rebuke to me.

"Creed and rite perchance may differ, yet our faith and hope be one;
Let me be thy father's father, let him be to me a son."

When the horn on Sabbath morning, through the still and frosty air,
From Spurwink, Pool, and Black Point, called to sermon and to prayer,

To the goodly house of worship, where, in order due and fit,
As by public vote directed, classed and ranked the people sit;

Mistress first, and goodwife after, clerkly squire before the clown,
From the brave coat, lace-embroidered, to the gray frock, shading down;

From the pulpit read the preacher: "Goodman Garvin and his wife
Fain would thank the Lord, whose kindness has followed them through life,

"For the great and crowning mercy, that their daughter, from the wild,
Where she rests (they hope) in God's peace, has sent to them her child;

"And the prayers of all God's people they ask that they may prove
Not unworthy, through their weakness, of such special proof of love."

As the preacher prayed, uprising, the aged couple stood,
And the fair Canadian also, in her modest maidenhood.

Thought the elders, grave and doubting, "She is Papist born and bred";
Thought the young men, "'Tis an angel in Mary Garvin's stead!"

A PARABLE.

BY THEODORE PARKER.

[At the last Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania, there was a division of sentiment upon the propriety of receiving a proffered contribution to its funds from a man who, on a previous occasion, had avowed the intention to break up the Meeting by disorderly interruptions of its proceedings, and who, entering it in a state of inebriety, had annoyed and shocked the assembly by his profanity and obscenity. A portion of the assembly thought that a proper sense of self-respect required that the contribution should be declined, while others maintained the opposite opinion. The discussion had become somewhat warm, when THEODORE PARKER, in whose clear-sighted judgment both parties felt the highest confidence, expressed his opinion in the guise of a Parable, which made a very deep impression upon the audience. A lady who was present afterwards wrote to Mr. Parker, soliciting a copy of the Parable, and, the request having been been complied with, it was sent to us for publication in THE STANDARD. We therefore give place to it and to a prefatory note from Mr. Parker.]

BOSTON, 4th June.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I returned from Pennsylvania so weary that I could only do the deal of work that accumulated in my absence, and not till now have I found a moment to comply with your suggestion. This is the little "Parable," which is good for nothing apart from the occasion when it was uttered. Like other little wild flowers, it is good for nothing when gathered, and only looks pretty by the woodland path where it grew.

In the days when the Tabernacle of David was fallen down, and the Holy Place was laid waste, there came together the Elders of Israel, the Wise Men and the Prophets, to hasten the time when the Lord should build up Zion. Now, divers young men assembled also, and of fair and goodly women not a few. And when they saw the waste places, the people were of one heart and one mind, and beat upon their breasts, and cried out, "Oh! that that the Lord would build up Zion and pour out his Holy Spirit upon us!"

Then one of the Fathers of Israel spake, saying: "Yea! But the Lord worketh by the hands of men, and keepeth the city only, wherein the watchman slumbereth not. Let us give of our substance to repair the breaches of the Temple, every man according to his ability. Let none hide his gift in his bosom, ashamed of its smallness. The Lord is no respecter of persons, nor accepteth he the offering of the mighty, before the gift of the poor, but looketh only at the heart." And the saying pleased the people, who cried "Amen," with one consent. And so it came to pass, that many offered their gifts, and many that were rich gave of their abundance; some a talent, some more; some but a single shekel. Nay, women that were widows vouchsafed a few bunches of dates, or a handful of parched corn, as meat for the workmen; and maidens would bring water to the masons building up the wall. So the offerings went forward, and the Scribes wrote them down with the pen of ready writers.

Then there rose up in the meeting a man that said, "Lo! here are five pieces of silver; put them into the treasury of the Lord's House, for the service thereof." "Nay," said such as knew him, "not so. This man is a son of Belial, and not of the seed of Abraham. He speaketh against this Holy Place, he mocketh at our counsels, and watcheth for our halting, that he may betray us into the hands of our enemies. He uttereth curses against us; his mouth runneth over with bitterness. Moreover, in our solemn meetings he hath spoken words of lewdness and folly, which it is not lawful for man to utter, making tears to run down upon the trembling hands of our old men, and the maiden's cheek to burn with shame that could not be hidden. God forbid that we should defile the sanctuary with the gift of the ungodly, whose prayer is an abomination unto the Lord."

But others spake against this counsel, saying: "Nay! Brethren, you do greatly err. Let us not scorn the one rose in his garden, albeit thorns do choke its blossoms. Take the pieces of silver. To his own Master he standeth or falleth. Let us not judge the heart of our neighbour."

Now, the multitude was divided, some crying one thing and some another; and wise men on both sides did utter foolishness, for the heart of man forgetteth good counsel when anger lodgeth there but for an hour. Then the enemies of Israel rejoiced, and their foolish hearts were glad within them, and they said: "Now is their house divided against itself; surely their habitations shall be desolate, and their counsels, like the builders of Babel, shall come to nought, for their speech is confounded."

Then arose Nathaniel, an old man with a beard that came down to his girdle. The same was the son of Jehuchaner, from the hill country about Jordan, and he opened his mouth and spake: "Men and Brethren, Sons of Jacob and Daughters of Israel! Who knoweth the spirit of man, but Heaven who fashioneth the heart? Peradventure this man is not a son of Belial, though evil companions and much strong drink have made his footsteps to wander. Truly his speech is not with soberness, nor his walk like the son of consolation, and doubtless, also, he hath sinned with his lips, making our ears to tingle with his words. But peradventure his tongue only went astray, while he meant no evil in his heart, for an old man knoweth by his own follies that wickedness is sometimes wrought when evil is not with the worker, but the work only. Or if Satan hath tempted him, perhaps the man that was a sinner hath repented already in his heart, and will do so no more. Nay, who knoweth that our forbearance may not convert him from the evil of his ways, and save a soul from Death? Let us err *often* by the abundance of our charity rather than *once* only through excess of our haughtiness and haste to take vengeance. Did not Abraham our Father lie unto the King of Egypt, and David also sin a great sin unto the Lord, in the matter of Uriah the Hittite? Yet our God did not utterly forsake them. Peradventure he will open the eyes of this son of Adam, and bless us likewise with his love, if we also love those who trespass against us. Let us forgive him seven times—nay, seventy times seven."

And when he sat down, the multitude rose up, and wept, and the man who was a sinner fell upon his face, weeping, and said, "Lo here are five shekels more; the Lord be merciful to me a sinner"! And they put the money in the treasury of the Lord, and said, "Surely, brotherly love is better than much fine gold. It is this which shall repair the breaches of the temple, and build up the tabernacle of David which is fallen down. Is it not with our charity that the Lord will build up Zion!"

And the multitude was again of one heart and mind, and the Lord blessed them, and the love of them came upon all the people round about, who saw their good works, and they glorified God who gave such gifts unto men.

MR. PARKER says:

* * * "I write it now a better Parable, but it grew up at the moment, and ought to have been forgotten with the little gust of rain that called it out of the ground."

THE LATE SAMUEL ROGERS.

SOME friend and companion of the late Samuel Rogers has furnished the following anecdote and specimens of his table-talk to the London *Illustrated News*:

In his ninetieth year his memory began to fail him in a manner that was painful to his friends. He was no longer able to relate his shortest stories, or welcome his constant companions with his usual complimentary expressions. He began to forget familiar faces, and at last forgot that he had ever been a poet. It was impossible, however, even when Memory had at length deserted the poet who had sung her charms, to look upon him without a feeling of veneration. Faces of other times seemed to crowd over him as he sat, and what that vacant mind had once seen, and what that now faltering tongue could once relate so well, were the thoughts uppermost in the minds of all who knew him.

On the morning of the 18th December, 1855, the Tithonus of living English poets was taken from among us. He died in his own house, surrounded by the works of art which his fine taste had brought about him. "He expired," writes Dr. Beattie, the physician who was with him, "at half-past twelve this morning. A more tranquil and placid transition I never beheld. His devoted niece closed his eyes, and his faithful domestics stood weeping around his bed. Some of the attendant circumstances reminded me of the death-bed of Campbell; but this was more calm, solemn and impressive—quite in keeping with the scene in his 'Human Life.'"

His face is said to have been prepossessing in his youth, and the drawing of him by Sir Thomas Lawrence, from which so many engravings have been made, seems to support such belief. His eyes were blue in colour and large, and his nose long. His complexion must always have been pale. His height was about five feet five inches.

As he advanced in years, the colour retreated altogether from his face, and the satire of Byron was then true to his appearance. His looks afforded, of course, a fine field for sarcastic comment. Theodore Hook, who was often merciless at his expense, recommended his friends to induce him to abstain from attending Lord Byron's funeral. He stood in danger, he said, of being recognised by the undertaker as a corpse he had screwed down some six weeks before.

Thus eminent by position and genius, his opinion was frequently sought by authors and by artists. He was shy of praise—shy of censure. In an age when almost every poet of any name was a reviewer, Rogers was not a reviewer. When in the presence of the painter of any picture, he had constant recourse to the safe and general criticism of Sir Joshua: "Pretty, very pretty," were the words that conveyed satisfaction to the eager ears of many a clever artist.

The critic who annoyed Mr. Rogers in the *Quarterly* was never more in the wrong than when he asserted that his author was a hasty writer. A man of letters and of fortune from his birth, whose literary life extended over sixty years, cannot be called a hasty writer when the produce of his life can be placed with ease in an ordinary pocket volume—for such is the shape his works assumed in the latest edition. The fact is that his were hard-bound brains, and not a lines he ever wrote was produced at a single sitting.

This was well exemplified in a favourite saying of Sydney Smith: "When Rogers produces a couplet, he goes to bed, and the knocker is tied, and straw is laid down, and the caudle is made, and the answer to inquiries is, that Mr. Rogers is as well as can can be expected."

Pointed axioms and acute replies fly loose about the world, and are assigned successively to those whom it may be the fashion to celebrate. How many smart sayings are assigned to Sheridan and Selwyn, to Jekyll and Rose, to Walpole and others of Walpole's contemporaries, which, in truth, they never uttered. Many were, and are still, assigned to Mr. Rogers with which he had nothing whatever to do. In the early days of the *John Bull* newspaper, "Sam. Rogers was fathered with many a smart saying, and many a clever and many a stupid jest. It will be the business of Mr. Dyce to select the genuine from the false—the smart from the dull—of the many sayings attributed to Mr. Rogers. A few, most truly and unmistakably his, will not be out of place in these columns.

Sir Thomas Lawrence and Mr. Phillips have both very great merits as painters of female portraits. When Rogers was asked to distinguish their different excellencies, he replied, "Phillips shall paint my wife, and Lawrence my mistress."

Of the late Lord Holland, whose face was full of sunshine, he observed most happily, "Lord Holland always comes down to breakfast like a man upon whom some sudden good fortune has just fallen." On another occasion he exclaimed (alluding to the same noblemen)—

His was the smile that spoke the mind at ease.

A line, I believe, of his own composing, though not included in his works.

He could be severe upon his own friends. Of the same nobleman he observed, "Painting gives him no pleasure, and music absolute pain."

In Italy he said, "The memory sees more than the eye."

"I envy no man of my time any saying so much as I envy Lord John Russell that admirable definition of a proverb—'The wisdom of many and the wit of one.'"

"What a lucky fellow you are!" he said to Moore: "surely you must have been born with a rose in your lips, and a nightingale singing on the top of your bed."

"I cannot admire Murillo to the extent that is now in fashion. The undignified and ordinary nature of his figures and faces always offends me."

"There are two parties before whom everybody must appear—the Hollands and the police."

"Lady Holland was always lamenting that she had nothing to do—that she did not know what to be at—or how to employ her time. She was one day worse on this subject than ever, and I could not resist recommending her to 'try a novelty—try and do a little good.'"

"When Croker wrote his review in the *Quarterly* of Macaulay's 'History,' he intended murder, but committed suicide."

Of Sydney Smith he observed—"Whenever the conversation is getting dull, he throws in some touch which makes it rebound and rise again as light as ever. There is this difference between Luttrell and Smith: after Luttrell, you remember what good things he said—after Smith, you remember how much you laughed."

On somebody remarking that Payne Knight had become very deaf—"'Tis from want of practice," replied Rogers; "he is the worst listener I know."

"An old gentleman, asleep before the fire, was awakened by the clatter of the fire-irons at his feet. 'What! going to bed without one kiss?' he exclaimed. He mistook one noise for another."

"When Dean M. observed in my hearing that he should read no more prose translations from poets—'What!' I exclaimed, 'not the Psalms of David to your congregation?'"

"That was a happy reply of Sydney Smith. When I began to light my dinner table from the reflection on the pictures about me, I was not very successful. The light was thrown above the table and not on it. I asked Sydney what he thought of the attempt. We were at dinner at the time. 'I do not like it at all,' was his reply; 'all is light above, and all below is darkness and gnashing of teeth.'"

"I was pleased with what I saw you about this morning," he observed once at Broadstairs to an artist, who naturally expected from such a commencement some reference to the labours of his pencil; "I was greatly pleased: I saw you brushing your own coat. A gentleman who can brush his own coat is very independent."

Sir Walter Scott told me this story, and, as I copied it down soon after, I will read the story to you:

"There was a boy in my class at school who stood always at the top, nor could I, with all my efforts, supplant him. Day came after day, and still he kept his place, do what I would, till at length I observed that when a question was asked him, he always fumbled with his fingers at a particular button in the lower part of his waistcoat. To remove it, therefore, became expedient in my eyes; and in an evil moment it was removed with a knife. Great was my anxiety to know the success of my measure; and it succeeded too well.

"When the boy was again questioned, his fingers sought again for the button, but it was not to be found. In his distress he looked down for it; it was to be seen no more than to be felt. He stood confounded, and I took possession of his place, nor did he ever recover it, or ever, I believe, suspect who was the author of his wrong. Often, in after-life, has the sight of him smote me as I passed by him, and often have I resolved to make him some reparation; but it ended in good resolutions. Though I never renewed my acquaintance with him, I often saw him, for he filled some inferior office in one of the courts of law at Edinburgh. Poor fellow! I believe he is dead; he took early to drinking."

This, the writer of these imperfect memoranda once observed to him, was hardly original. "Ah!" he exclaimed, evidently surprised, and with an air of doubt. I then asked for a copy of the *Spectator*, and read as follows:

"When I was a young man, and used to frequent Westminster-hall, there was a counsellor who never pleaded without a piece of packthread in his hand, which he used to twist about a thumb or a finger all the while he was speaking. The wags of those days used to call it the thread of his discourse, for he was not able to utter a word without it. One of his clients, who was more merry than wise, stole it from him one day in the midst of his pleading; but he had better have let it alone, for he lost his cause by his jest."

He made a mark in the volume, and said with a smile, "I will say what Sydney Smith always said when he heard a good thing for the first time—'*booked*.'"

"Sheridan told me that he was aware he ought to have made a love scene between *Charles* and *Maria* in the 'School for Scandal,' and would have done it, but that the actors who played the parts were not able to do justice to such a scene."

"I met Sheridan very often, but never in his own house."

"Whenever Lady Holland hears that a person of any consequence has said an ill word of her, she immediately invites him to dinner."

"Mr. West told me that Beckford called upon him, before he went to Spain, to borrow two small pictures to take in his carriage with him wherever he went, and that the two pictures he selected were the little octagon, 'Claude' you see there, and the 'Domenichino,' at the end of the room."

"Campbell wrote to Sir Robert Peel, asking for the Laureateship, and Campbell was angry, not unnaturally, that he got no answer. But Peel, I say, did give him an answer (with a sneer)—*he helped to bear the pall at his funeral*."

"Lord Holland came to Lord Lansdowne, a short time before his death, and showed him the epitaph he had written on himself. It ran in this way, 'Here lies Henry Vassall Fox, Lord Holland, with all his titles, who was drowned sitting in his elbow chair.' This was in some degree true. He died of water in the chest."

"Lord Holland read to me his character of Sheridan. The wind-up I particularly remember—'He died with great Christian resignation, joining fervently in the prayers that were read to him when the sacrament was administered.' Now I asked Howley, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, what Sheridan's end was like: 'He was insensible,' said Howley. 'Mrs. Sheridan put his hands together in the attitude of supplication, and I read the prayers.'"

"There is a couplet in Cowper which I admire exceedingly—

Knowledge is proud that he has learn'd so much;
Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.

"When I am at Fine Arts Commissions, where good paper and pens abound, I copy out these lines for the people who trouble me for my autograph—'How much he improves,' was the remark of one who mistook them for mine. These lines (and they are very good),

Oh! if the selfish knew how much they lost
What would they not endeavour, not endure
To imitate, as far as them lay,
Him who his wisdom and his powers employs
In making others happy!

I transcribe in the same manner."

"Lady Holland, who was always inquisitive, was particularly anxious to have Sir Phillip Francis asked if he was Junius. She would not ask him herself, and it fell, I know not how, to my lot to ask him. I asked the question, and met with this brief answer: 'Ask that again, Sir, at your peril!' This was enough. Next time I saw Lady Holland, she asked, 'What success—is Francis Junius?' To which I replied, 'I don't know whether he is Junius, but I know he is Brutus.'"

"I was observing one day to Sydney Smith that I should not sit again for my portrait unless I was taken in an attitude of prayer. 'Yes,' said Sydney, who was even readier than Luttrell—'yes, with your face in your hat.'"

"Here is Hallam, who has spent a whole life in contradicting everybody, and is now obliged to publish a volume to contradict himself." [Mr. Rogers referred to the supplemental volume to the "Middle Ages."]

I have said that the verses on Mr. Rogers, which Byron "threw off in a bitter mood," are very severe, and not in parts untrue. I will, therefore, now transcribe them, as they are not included in Byron's works, and but very little known:

LORD BYRON'S VERSES ON MR. ROGERS, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Question.

Nose and chin would shame a knocker,
Wrinkles that would puzzle Cocker;
Mouth which marks the envious scorner,
With a scorpion in each corner,
Turning its quick tail to sting you
In the place that most may wring you;
Eyes of lead-like hue, and gummy;
Carcass pick'd out from some mummy;
Bowels (but they were forgotten,
Save the liver, and that's rotten);
Skin all sallow, flesh all sodden—
Form the Devil would frighten God in.
Is't a corpse stuck up for show,
Galvanized at times to go?
With the Scripture in connection,
New proof of the resurrection?
Vampyre, ghost, or ghoul, what is it?
I would walk ten miles to miss it.

Answer.

Many passengers arrest one,
To demand the same free question.
Shorter's my reply, and franker—
That's the Bard, the Beau, the Banker.
Yet if you could bring about,
Just to turn him inside out,
Satan's self would scem less sooty,
And his present aspect—Beauty.
Mark that (as he masks the bilious
Air, so softly supercilious)
Chastened bow, and mock humility,
Almost sickened to servility;
Hear his tone (which is to talking
That which creeping is to walking—
Now on all-fours, now on tiptoe);
Hear the tales he lends his lip to;
Little hints of heavy scandals;
Every friend in turn he handles;
All which women or which men do,
Glides forth in an inuendo,
Clothed in odds and ends of humour—
Herald of each paltry rumour,
From divorces, down to dresses,
Women's frailties, men's excesses,
All which life presents of evil
Make for him a constant revel.
You're his foe—for that he fears you,
And in absence blasts and sears you:
You're his friend—for that he hates you,
First caresses, and then baits you;
Darting on the opportunity
When to do it with impunity:
You are neither—then he'll flatter
Till he finds some trait for satire;
Hunts your weak point out, then shows it
Where it injures to disclose it,
In the mode that's most invidious,
Adding every trait that's hideous,
From the bile, whose blackening river
Rushes through his Stygian liver.

Then he thinks himself a lover:
Why I really can't discover
In his mind, age, face, or figure;
Viper-broth might give him vigour;
Let him keep the cauldron steady,
He the venom has already.
For his faults, he has but *one*—
'Tis but envy, when all's done.
He but pays the pain he suffers;
Clipping, like a pair of snuffers,
Lights which ought to burn the brighter
For this temporary blighter.
He's the cancer of his species,
And will eat himself to pieces;
Plague personified, and famine;
Devil, whose sole delight is damning!

For his merits, would you know 'em?
Once he wrote a pretty Poem.

What he thought of these verses I never heard. He was silent about them, while he would turn with satisfaction to the following entry in the diary of Sir Walter Scott: "At parting [they were at Holland House together], Rogers gave me a gold-mounted pair of glasses, which I will not part with in a hurry. I really like S. R., and have always found him most friendly.

The eldest brother of Mr. Rogers was, we are now informed on the very best authority, not Mr. Henry Rogers, as stated in our memoir, but Mr. Daniel Rogers, who resided on his estate in Worcestershire, called "Wasel-grove," where he died about twenty-six years since. Miss Martha Rogers, who closed the poet's eyes, is the daughter of Mr. Daniel Rogers.

On Thursday, the 27th of December, the remains of the poet, whose position and talents have induced me to preserve these brief memorials of his table-talk, were interred in the once rural churchyard of Hornsey, not far from Stoke Newington, the place of his birth. Some lines which he loved, "worth all the fine writing [he was wont to say] that the world ever produced," will not unfitly conclude this notice:

A GRAVE BENEATH A TREE.

When my soul flies to the first great Giver,
Friends of the Bard, let my dwelling be
By the green bank of that rippling river,
Under the shade of yon tall beech-tree.
Bury me there, ye lovers of song,
When the prayers for the dead are spoken,
With my hands on my breast,
Like a child at rest,
And my lyre in the grave unbroken.

From Punch.

THE SONG OF HIAWATHA.

AN ENGLISH CRITICISM.

You, who hold in grace and honour,
Holds as one who did you kindness
When he publish'd former poems,
Sang Evangeline the noble,
Sang the golden Golden Legend,
Sang the song the Voices utter
Crying in the night and darkness,
Sang how unto the Red Planet
Mars he gave the Night's First Watches,
Henry Wadsworth, whose *adnomen*
(Coming awkward, for the accents,
Into this his latest rhythm)
Write we as Protracted Fellow,
Or in Latin, *Longus Comes*—
Buy the Song of Hiawatha.

Should you ask me, Is the poem
Worthy of its predecessors,
Worthy of the sweet conceptions,
Of the manly nervous diction,
Of the phrase, concise or pliant,
Of the songs that sped the pulses,
Of the songs that gemm'd the eyelash,
Of the other works of Henry?
I should answer, I should tell you,
You may wish that you may get it—
Don't you wish that you may get it?

Should you ask me, Is it worthless,
Is it bosh and is it bunkum,
Merely facile flowing nonsense,
Easy to a practiced rhythmist,
Fit to charm a private circle,
But not worth the print and paper
David Bogue hath here expended?
I should answer, I should tell you,
You're a fool and most presumptuous.
Hath not Henry Wadsworth writ it?
Hath not *Punch* commanded "Buy it?"

Should you ask me, What's its nature?
Ask me, What's the kind of poem?
Ask me in respectful language,
Touching your respectful beaver,
Kicking back your manly hind-leg,
Like to one who sees his betters;
I should answer, I should tell you,
'Tis a poem in this metre,
And embalming the traditions,
Fables, rites, and superstitions
Legends, charms, and ceremonials
Of the various tribes of Indians,
From the land of the Ojibways,
From the land of the Dacotahs,
From the mountains, moors, and fenlands,
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,
Finds its sugar in the rushes:
From the fast-decaying nations,
Which our gentle Uncle Samuel
Is improving, very smartly,
From the face of all creation,
Off the face of all creation.

Should you ask me, By what story,
By what action, plot, or fiction,
All these matters are connected?
I should answer, I should tell you,
Go to Bogue and buy the poem,
Publish'd neatly, at one shilling,
Publish'd sweetly, at five shillings.
Should you ask me, Is there music
In the structure of the verses,
In the names and in the phrases?
Pleading that, like weaver Bottom,
You prefer your ears well tickled;
I should answer, I should tell you,
Henry's verse is very charming;
And for names—there's Hiawatha,
Who's the hero of the poem;
Mudjeekeewis, that's the West Wind,
Hiawatha's graceless father;
There's Nokomis, there's Wenonah—
Ladies both, of various merit;
Puggawangum, that's a war-club;
Pau-puk-keewis, he's a dandy,
Barr'd with streaks of red and yellow;
And the women and the maidens
Love the handsome Pau-puk-keewis,
Tracing in him *Punch's* likeness.
Then there's lovely Minnehaha—
Pretty name with pretty meaning—
It implies the Laughing-water;
And the darling Minnehaha
Married noble Hiawatha;
And her story's far too touching
To be sport for you, you donkey,
With your ears like weaver Bottom's,
Ears like booby Bully Bottom.

Once upon a time in London,
In the days of the Lyceum,
Ages ere keen Arnold let it
To the dreadful Northern Wizard,
Ages ere the buoyant Mathews
Tripp'd upon its boards in briskness—
I remember, I remember
How a scribe, with pen chivalrous,
Tried to save these Indians stories
From the fate of chill oblivion.
Out came sundry comic Indians
Of the tribe of Kut-an-hack-um.
With their Chief, the clean Efmatthews,
With the growling Downy Beaver,
With the valiant Monkey's Uncle,
Came the gracious Mari-Kee-lee,
Firing off a pocket-pistol,
Singing, too, that Mudjee-keewis
(Shortened in the song to "Wild Wind")
Was a spirit very kindly.
Came her Sire, the joyous Kee-lee,
By the waning tribe adopted,
Named the Buffalo, and wedded
To the fairest of the maidens,
But repented of his bargain,
And his brother Kut-an-hack-ums
Very nearly chopp'd his toes off—
Serve him right, the fickle Kee-lee.
If you ask me, What this memory
Hath to do with Hiawatha,
And the poem which I speak of?
I should answer, I should tell you,
You're a fool, and most presumptuous;
'Tis not for such humble cattle
To inquire what links and unions
Join the thoughts, and mystic meanings,
Of their betters, mighty poets,
Mighty writers—*Punch* the mightiest.
I should answer, I should tell you,
Shut your mouth, and go to David,
David, *Mr. Punch's* neighbour,
Buy the Song of Hiawatha,
Read, and learn, and then be thankful
Unto *Punch* and Henry Wadsworth,
Punch, and noble Henry Wadsworth,
Truer poet, better fellow,
Than to be annoyed at jesting,
From his friend, great *Punch*, who loves him.

CURIOUS PREDICTION.—The family of Trichborne date their possession of the present patrimony, the manor of Tichborne, so far back as 200 years before the Conquest. When the Lady Mabella, worn out with age and infirmity, was lying on her death-bed, she besought her husband, as her last request, that he would grant her the means of leaving behind her a charitable bequest, in a dole of bread to be distributed to all who should apply for it annually on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Sir Roger, her husband, readily acceded to the request, by promising the produce of as much land as she could go over in the vicinity of the park, while a certain brand or billet was burning, supposing that, from her long infirmity (for she had been bed-ridden some years), she would be able to go round a small portion only of his property. The venerable dame, however, ordered her attendants to convey her to the corner of the park, where, being deposited on the ground, she seemed to receive a renovation of strength, and, to the surprise of her anxious and admiring lord, who began to wonder where this pilgrimage might end, she crawled around several rich and goodly acres. The field which was the scene of Lady Mabella's extraordinary feat retains the name of "Crawls" to this day. It is situated near the entrance of the park, and contains an area of thirty-three acres. Her task being completed, she was re-conveyed to her chamber, and, summoning her family to her bedside, predicted its prosperity while the annual dole existed, and left her malediction on any of her descendants who should be so mean or covetous as to discontinue or divert it, prophesying that when such should happen, the old house would fall, and the family name would become extinct from the failure of heirs male, and that this would be foretold by a generation of seven sons being followed immediately after by a generation of seven daughters and no son. The custom in the reign of Henry II., founded thus, continued to be observed for centuries; and the 25th of March became the annual festive day of the family. It was not until the middle of the last century that the custom was abused; when, under pretence of attending Tichborne Dole, vagabonds, gypsies and idlers of every description, assembled from all quarters, pilfering throughout the neighborhood; and, at last, the gentry and magistrates complaining, it was discontinued in 1796. Singularly enough, the baronet of the day had seven sons; and, when he was succeeded by the eldest, there appeared a generation of seven daughters, and the apparent fulfilment of the prophecy was completed by the change of the name of the late baronet to Daughty, under the will of his kinswoman.—*Winchester (Eng.) Observer.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

G. Cruikshank, the well-known artist, left England a few days ago for the United States.

——THE "UNIVERS" ON HERESY.—The *Univers* has just proclaimed heresy—that is to say, dissent from any dogma such as the immaculate conception—a crime on a par with robbery or adultery. It next defines toleration to be a necessity like that extended to polygamy, as in Turkey, or the idolatrous abominations in Algeria.

——AN ENORMOUS ROOM.—The largest reading-room in the world is now nearly completed, in the British Museum. It is circular, 140 feet in diameter, and 140 feet in height. The tables will accommodate 400 readers. The wrought-iron book cases will contain 102,000 volumes. The cost of the room will be about $300,000.

——Rossini had accepted an invitation to dine with a certain lady whose dinners are known to be arranged on a most economical scale. The dinner offered to the *maestro* formed no exception to the general rule, and he left the table rather hungry. "I hope you will soon do me the honour to dine again with me," said the lady as he was taking leave of her. "Immediately, if you like," replied he.

——PROPHETIC.—The white-headed eagle of North America stands for the representative of the United States. The adoption of this bird for such a purpose was a source of much annoyance to Franklin. The philosopher denounced "this bird of bad moral character, which does not get its living honestly. Besides," said Franklin, "he is a rank coward; the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly, and drives him out of the district. He is, therefore, by no means a proper emblem for the brave and honest Cincinnati of America."

——M. de Balzac, the French novelist, has penned the following curious piece of criticism on the character of Protestant woman:

"Obliged, as he was, to espouse the ideas of an essentially hypocritical nation, Walter Scott has represented humanity under false colours in his character of woman; and the reason is, that schismatics were sitting for his models. The Protestant woman has no ideal. She may be chaste, pure, virtuous; but her inexpressive love will always be calm and orderly, as proceeding from the consciousness of fulfilled duty. It would seem that the Virgin Mary has hardened the hearts of the sophists who drove her from Heaven, together with her treasures of mercy. In the Protestant religion there is nothing possible for a woman when she has once committed a fault; in the Catholic church, on the contrary, the hope of pardon renders her sublime. Consequently, the representation of the female character is ever the same among Protestant writers, whilst every new situation brings a *new woman* before the Catholic author."

——UNSEXUAL CHURCHES.—A learned divine, the Rev. Mr. Pusey, of Langley, more conversant with the practices of the dark ages than with the institutions of the country in which it has been his fate to be born, has, in building a new church for his parish, attempted to divide the families of his congregation, quartering out the males on one side, and the females on the other, separating husbands and wives, mothers and sons, fathers and daughters, brothers and sisters, masters and maidens. To his great surprise and disgust the congregation have refused to be so penned out like sheep in a market; and this attempt to treat Englishmen after this ancient fashion has signally failed. As a matter of curiosity this is a great pity; for if the Rev. Mr. Pusey had succeeded in this plan of bisexual churches, he might have carved out more work for architects by carrying the improvement a step further and having unisexual or male or female churches. A church for ladies would afford opportunities for introducing many special arrangements, according to the last new fashions in religion or dress of Paris or La Trappe.—*Building News.*

——A new musical phenomenon has just appeared in Paris. Picco is a Sardinian, 25 years of age, and was born blind. "His instrument (says a correspondent of a London paper) is a little wooden whistle, less than three inches long, and of the commonest description. It has only three stops, properly so-called, but he makes ample use of the aperture at the end as a fourth. With this simple aid to his genius he has a range of three octaves, and can run over the whole chromatic scale. I heard him accompany a lady who played on the pianoforte two difficult pieces from Ernani and the Trovatore. In the course of the evening other pieces were played, in which Picco improvised an accompaniment, which he executed throughout with perfect accuracy. He has notes as sweet as a nightingale's, but occasionally there are shrill sounds which make the ears tingle. It was in the fields that poor blind Picco was wont from boyhood to wake the echoes with eloquent music. As he grew up his talent attained a local celebrity. At last he made his way to Milan, where his popularity was so great that he might have made a little fortune had not the authorities turned him out of the city, because he attracted too great crowds in the streets. Picco is now on his way to England."

——GARRICK'S POWERS OF FACE.—When Garrick was in Paris, Preville, the celebrated French actor, invited him to his villa, and, being in a gay humour, he proposed to go in one of the hired coaches that regularly plied between Paris and Versailles, on which road Preville's villa was situated. When they got in, Garrick ordered the coachman to drive on; but the driver answered that he would as soon as he got his complement of four passengers. A caprice immediately seized Garrick. He determined to give his brother player a specimen of his art. While the coachman was attentively looking out for passengers, Garrick slipped out at the door, went round the coach, and, by his wonderful command of countenance, palmed himself upon the coachman as a stranger. This he did twice, and was admitted into the coach each time as a fresh passenger, to the astonishment and admiration of Preville. Garrick whipped out a third time, and addressed himself to the coachman, who said in a surley tone that he had "already got his complement," and would have driven off without him had not Preville called out that, as the stranger appeared to be a very little man, they would accommodate the gentleman, and make room for him.

——RARITY OF A GOOD EDITOR.—A good editor, a competent newspaper conductor, is, like a general or a poet, born—not made. Exercise and experience give facility, but the qualification is innate, or it is never manifested. On the London daily papers, all the great historians, novelists, poets, essayists and writers of travels have been tried, and nearly all have failed. We might say all; for, after a display of brilliancy, brief, but grand, they died out, literally. Their resources were exhausted. "I can," said the late editor of the *Times* to Moore, "find any number of men of genius to write for me, but very seldom one man of common sense." The "Thunderers" in the *Times*, therefore, have, so far as we know, been men of common sense. Nearly all successful editors have been men of this description. Campbell, Carlyle, Bulwer, and D'Israeli failed; Barnes, Sterling and Phil